

# ARCHAIC CYPRUS

*A Study of the Textual and  
Archaeological Evidence*

A. T. REYES

CLARENDON PRESS • OXFORD

1994

VISIT...

LANZAROTE  
*Caliente*.COM

Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP  
Oxford New York Toronto  
Delhi Bombay Calcutta Madras Karachi  
Kuala Lumpur Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo  
Nairobi Dar es Salaam Cape Town  
Melbourne Auckland Madrid

and associated companies in  
Berlin Ibadan

Oxford is a trade mark of Oxford University Press

Published in the United States  
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© A. T. Reyes 1994

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press.  
Within the UK, exceptions are allowed in respect of any fair dealing for the  
purpose of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted  
under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, or in the case of  
reprographic reproduction in accordance with the terms of the licences  
issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency. Enquiries concerning  
reproduction outside these terms and in other countries should be  
sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press,  
at the address above

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

*Archaic Cyprus : a study of the textual and  
archaeological evidence* / A. T. Reyes.  
(Oxford monographs on classical archaeology)  
Includes bibliographical references.

1. Cyprus—Antiquities. 2. Cyprus—History. I. Title.  
II. Series.

DS54.3.R49 1994 939'.37—dc20 93-26237  
ISBN 0-19-813227-1

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Typeset by Datix International Limited, Bungay, Suffolk  
Printed in Great Britain on acid-free paper by  
Biddles Ltd., Guildford and King's Lynn

## Preface

THIS book derives from a thesis submitted in Michaelmas Term 1989 to the Faculty of Literae Humaniores at the University of Oxford. The thesis bore the very cumbersome title, 'An Archaeological Study of the Impact of Foreign Cultures in Cyprus, from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC, with particular reference to the evidence of stamp seals'. The detailed work on Cypriot seals will, it is hoped, appear elsewhere. What is presented here is a much-revised version of the historical and archaeological framework developed in the original thesis.

Generous subventions from the British Council, the Rhodes Trust, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and, at the University of Oxford, Merton College, St Hugh's College, the Graduate Studies Fund, and the Meyerstein and Craven Committees allowed me to meet the costs of research and travel. The Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), the Fitzwillian Museum (Cambridge), the British Museum (London), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), the Louvre Museum (Paris), the Cyprus Museum (Nicosia), the Medelhavsmuseet (Stockholm), and the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) kindly provided photographs. In addition, I am especially grateful to the members of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus for every assistance and kindness over the years.

To the following individuals I am grateful too, for having provided logistical support and constructive criticism and for having taken an interest: Professor T. H. Carpenter, Professor J. B. Connelly, Dr J. J. Coulton, Mr D. Darwish and the staff of the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, Mr M. J. M. Given, Dr J. McKenzie, Dr G. E. Markoe, the Revd M. J. Piret, Dr S. Swiny and the members of the Cyprus–American Archaeological Research Institute in Nicosia, and Mr R. L. Wilkins. In addition, Professor W. G. Forrest, Dr A. Leahy, and Dr R. Parkinson patiently answered particular queries. The criticisms of Dr D. Collon and Dr A. W. Johnston, who examined the original thesis, were especially useful.

My largest debts, however, are to Professor Sir John Boardman, Dr S. Dalley, Professor V. Karageorghis, Dr P. R. S. Moorey, and St Hugh's College, Oxford. Professor Boardman and Dr Moorey acted as supervisors to the original thesis and spent much time correcting and improving the style and content of successive drafts. It is a privilege to be able to

acknowledge here what I owe to their combined erudition. Dr Dalley not only collated and translated relevant cuneiform tablets in the British Museum, but also discussed and criticized my ideas concerning Cypriot history in general. As Director of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus when I first began my research, Professor Karageorghis facilitated my work on the island, and, as Visiting Fellow at Merton College, Oxford, in Michaelmas Term 1988, he placed me further in his debt by reading several chapters of the thesis. Finally, I would like to thank the Fellows of St Hugh's College, Oxford, and its present and previous Principals. By electing me to the Rhys-Davids Junior Research Fellowship in Archaeology in 1990, the College gave me the opportunity to continue research. I hope that the result will have justified its trust.

*St. Hugh's College, Oxford*  
*August 1992*

A.T.R.

### Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the following for photographs and permission to reproduce them:

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: 55  
Vorderasiatisches Museum (Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz), Berlin: 2  
J. Boardman and R. L. Wilkins: 50  
The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: 24 33(a)  
The Trustees of the British Museum, London: 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11(a) 21 23 30(b) 32 40 45  
46 47 48 56  
The Cesnola Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 19 36  
The Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia: 1 10 12 13 14 15  
17 18 29 34 43 44  
The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: 26 27 30(a) 31 33(b) 35 38 39  
42 52  
Musée du Louvre, Paris: 16 20(a) 22 57  
Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm: 53 54

Plates 11(b)(c) 20(b) 37 are from photographs by the author.

## Contents

|                                                |       |
|------------------------------------------------|-------|
| List of Illustrations                          | xi    |
| Plates                                         | xi    |
| Figures                                        | xii   |
| Maps                                           | xiii  |
| List of Tables                                 | xv    |
| Abbreviations                                  | xvi   |
| Chronological Charts                           | xviii |
| Maps                                           | xx    |
| Introduction                                   | I     |
| The Problems                                   | 3     |
| Gjerstad's views                               | 3     |
| An alternative view                            | 4     |
| Dating the Cypro-Archaic Period                | 5     |
| PART I. THE CYPRIOT KINGDOMS                   |       |
| 1. The Local Populations                       | 11    |
| Cypriots and Greeks                            | 11    |
| Eteocypriots                                   | 13    |
| The Phoenicians                                | 18    |
| Endnote: Eteocypriot Inscriptions              | 22    |
| 2. Culture and Society                         | 23    |
| Cypriot Kings and Kingdoms                     | 23    |
| Trading Commodities                            | 26    |
| Cypriot Sanctuaries and Votive Offerings       | 28    |
| Architecture                                   | 28    |
| Terracotta and ceramic votives                 | 32    |
| Limestone votives                              | 35    |
| Metal dedications and jewellery                | 39    |
| Cypriot Tombs and Burial Customs               | 40    |
| Architecture                                   | 41    |
| Funerary dedications                           | 44    |
| Endnote: Cypro-Archaic Settlement-Architecture | 45    |
| PART II. CYPRUS, THE NEAR EAST, AND EGYPT      |       |
| 3. Cyprus and Assyria                          | 49    |
| The Stele of Sargon II                         | 50    |
| Sennacherib and the Revolt of Luli             | 57    |



|                                                            |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and the 'Period of Independence' | 58  |
| Assyrian Objects and the Archaeological Record             | 61  |
| Stamp seals                                                | 61  |
| Pottery                                                    | 62  |
| Architecture                                               | 62  |
| Some Claims for Assyrian Influence                         | 62  |
| The 'royal' tombs at Salamis                               | 63  |
| Scenes of battle and warfare                               | 64  |
| 4. Cyprus and Egypt                                        | 69  |
| Chronology                                                 | 71  |
| The Elephantine stele of Amasis and Diodoros I. 68. I      | 72  |
| Nebuchadrezzar II and Amasis                               | 75  |
| The Political Relationship between Cyprus and Egypt        | 77  |
| The Archaeological Evidence                                | 78  |
| Painting                                                   | 79  |
| Statuary                                                   | 82  |
| 5. Cyprus and Persia                                       | 85  |
| The Cypriot Kings of the Sixth Century                     | 85  |
| Herodotos                                                  | 86  |
| Inscriptions                                               | 87  |
| Coinage                                                    | 88  |
| Political Organization                                     | 90  |
| The Archaeological Evidence for a Persian Presence         | 91  |
| The palace at Vouni                                        | 92  |
| The 'garrison commander's house' in Paphos                 | 94  |
| PART III. LOCAL AND FOREIGN CONTACTS                       |     |
| 6. Internal Relations                                      | 101 |
| The Written Evidence                                       | 102 |
| Archaeological Groups                                      | 104 |
| Sculpture                                                  | 104 |
| (a) Kition                                                 | 104 |
| (b) Kourion                                                | 105 |
| (c) Salamis                                                | 106 |
| Ceramics                                                   | 107 |
| (a) The group of 'Fish-Cups'                               | 107 |
| (b) The 'Figure-on-the-Shoulder' jugs                      | 107 |
| (c) The Palm-Leaf workshop                                 | 109 |
| (d) The 'Marion-Jug' group                                 | 110 |
| (e) The group of Amathus oinochoai                         | 110 |

|                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| (f) The group of black-figure ceramics from Amathus | 111 |
| (g) The NBB workshop                                | 111 |
| (h) Some additional Cypriot vase-painters           | 113 |
| Glyptic groups                                      | 115 |
| (a) The Pyrga workshop                              | 115 |
| (b) The scorpion-cutter of Ayia Irini               | 116 |
| (c) The sub-geometric warrior series                | 117 |
| (d) Head-seals and head-pendants                    | 118 |
| 7. External Relations                               | 122 |
| The Written Evidence                                | 123 |
| Foreign Influences in Cyprus                        | 126 |
| Phoenician influences                               | 127 |
| (a) Pottery                                         | 127 |
| (b) Architecture                                    | 128 |
| (c) Statuary                                        | 130 |
| (d) Glyptics                                        | 131 |
| Greek influences                                    | 131 |
| (a) Pottery                                         | 132 |
| (b) Architecture                                    | 133 |
| (c) Statuary                                        | 136 |
| (d) Glyptics                                        | 137 |
| Foreign Imports in Cyprus                           | 138 |
| Phoenician Pottery                                  | 138 |
| Greek Pottery                                       | 139 |
| (a) East Greece and Cyprus                          | 140 |
| (b) Attica and Cyprus                               | 142 |
| Phoenician glyptic                                  | 144 |
| Greek glyptic                                       | 145 |
| Phoenician statuary                                 | 146 |
| Greek statuary                                      | 147 |
| Spheres of Influence                                | 147 |
| Cypriot Exports to Foreign Lands                    | 148 |
| Pottery                                             | 149 |
| Statuary                                            | 149 |
| Glyptic                                             | 150 |
| Summary and Conclusions                             | 152 |
| Chronology                                          | 152 |
| Cyprus and the Near East, Egypt, and Greece         | 152 |
| The Cypriot Kingdoms                                | 153 |

|                             |        |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| Glossary of Technical Terms | 155    |
| Tables                      | 159    |
| Bibliography                | 165    |
| Index of Classical Sources  | 192    |
| General Index               | 194    |
| Plates                      | at end |

## List of Illustrations

### Plates (at end)

1. Bronze spit from Palaepaphos (Tomb 49)
2. The stele of Sargon II, found in Cyprus
3. Terracotta representation of a Cypriot cult-structure, from Amathus
4. Cypriot terracotta votive of a male figure, from Salamis
5. Cypriot terracotta votive of a female figure playing a lyre, from Achna, SW of Salamis
6. Cypriot limestone votive of a male figure, from Tamassos
7. Cypriot limestone votive of a male figure, from Tamassos.
8. Limestone head of a Cypriot male votive, precise provenance unknown
9. Kilt-like garment of a Cypriot limestone male votive, from Idalion
10. Limestone votive capitals from Cyprus. (a) Simple type, from Salamis (Tomb 21). (b) Complex type, from Idalion
11. Bronze votive statuettes from Idalion
12. Remains of a built tomb at Amathus, partly reconstructed
13. Painted interior of a built tomb at the 'royal' cemetery in Salamis, Tomb 80
14. Relief plaques at the entrance of a late 6th or early 5th cent. BC tomb at Pyla
15. A built tomb at Trachonas. (a) Entrance with relief plaques above the door. (b) Detail of the relief plaques
16. Cypriot funerary stele, purchased at Athienou
17. Remains of a chariot (B) from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79
18. Ivory plaque from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79
19. Device of a conoid stamp-seal of agate, cut in a Neo-Assyrian style
20. Two bronze votive statuettes allegedly from Cyprus
21. Amphora painted in the Amathus-style and decorated with a Hathor-head motif. Reportedly from Phokaia or Myrina in Asia Minor
22. Hathor-head capital from Paphos
23. Relief sculpture from Cyprus with Hathor-head on one side.
24. Limestone statuette in the 'mixed style', from Salamis
25. Relief sculpture from Amathus
26. Device of a green-jasper conoid seal, said to have been found in Cyprus
27. 'Fish-cup' from Palaepaphos (Black-on-Red I (III) ware)
28. Detail of a jug (Bichrome Red II (V) ware)
29. Jug from the Palm-Leaf workshop, found in the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 85a (Bichrome V ware)
30. Jugs from Marion (Bichrome Red II (V) ware)

31. Oinochoe from Amathus (Bichrome IV ware)
32. Black-figure amphora in the local style of Amathus (Bichrome V ware)
33. Bichrome III bowls associated with the NBB Workshop. (a) From Tamasos. (b) Precise provenance unknown
34. Cypro-Archaic I krater, probably from the region of Kourion and Amathus
35. Terracotta cuirass from Salamis with Bichrome decoration
36. Cubical seal of black serpentine with devices cut in the Pyrga-style
37. Device of a black serpentine scarab from Ayia Irini
38. Device of a grey serpentine scarab
39. Black serpentine head-seal, said to be from Cyprus
40. Black serpentine head-pendant from Amathus
41. Device of a cornelian scarab from Cyprus
42. Device of an agate scarab, said to be from Cyprus
43. Possible local imitations of East Greek cups, from Kition, c. 6th cent. BC
44. Aryballos in the shape of a double head, from the necropolis at Amathus, Tomb 436
45. Ionic votive capital with traces of red paint, from Salamis
46. Type I kore, from Amathus
47. Type II kore, precise provenance unknown
48. Type III kore, precise provenance unknown
49. Device of a black jasper scaraboid
50. Device of a green jasper scaraboid cut in a Graeco-Phoenician style, from Ayia Irini
51. Cypro-jug, from Amathus
52. Device of a cornelian scarab, from Kition
53. Device of a grey glazed, faience scarab, from Ayia Irini
54. Device of a clear glass scaraboid, from Ayia Irini
55. Device of an agate scarab from the area around Troy
56. Device of a plasma scaraboid, from Amathus, attributed to the Semon Master
57. Bronze head, said to be from Cyprus

*Figures*

1. Plan of a Cypro-Geometric tomb at Amathus (no. 18), claimed by Gjerstad as 'Eteocypriot' 16
2. Plan and sections of a Cypro-Geometric tomb at Lapethos (no. 401), claimed by Gjerstad as Mycenaean 17
3. Plan of the Phoenician Temple of Astarte at Kition 19
4. Hypothetical reconstruction of Cypriot cult-structures 29
5. Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion 31

6. Device of scarab said to be of chalcedony, from Kourion(?) 41
7. Vertical section of a Cypro-Geometric pit-tomb (no. 603) at Lapethos 42
8. Engraved silver bowl from Amathus 45
9. Restored drawing of a bronze breast-plate for a horse, from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79 66
10. Bronze band from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79 67
11. The palace at Vouni, period 1. Plan and hypothetical reconstruction 93
12. Plan of the 'garrison-commander's house' at Paphos 94
13. Rhyton in the shape of a ram's head, from Ayia Irini (Plain White V ware) 96
14. Device of a blue frit conoid seal from Palaepaphos (Tomb 57, Cypro-Geometric II period) 119
15. Device of a scarab of blue serpentine, belonging to the Lyre-Player group of seals 126
16. Plan of a temple (?) on the acropolis at Soloi 133
17. Plan of a temple (?) at Vouni-Paradisotissa 134
18. Architectural fragments from a Doric structure at Soloi. (a) Profile moulding of a cornice block. (b) Doric capital 135

*Maps*

## GENERAL MAPS

1. Cyprus xx
2. The Eastern Mediterranean xxi
3. The Mediterranean xxii
4. Persia xxiii

## DISTRIBUTION MAPS

1. Terracottas from Kition 104
2. Terracottas from Kourion 105
3. Terracottas from Salamis 106
4. The group of 'Fish-Cups' 108
5. The 'Figure-on-the-Shoulder' jugs 108
6. The Palm-Leaf workshop 109
7. The 'Marion-Jug' group 110
8. The group of Amathus oinochoai 111
9. The group of black-figure ceramics from Amathus 112
10. The NBB workshop 112
11. Some additional Cypriot vase-painters 113

|                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 12. The Pyrga workshop                | 116 |
| 13. The scorpion-cutter of Ayia Irini | 117 |
| 14. The sub-geometric warrior series  | 117 |
| 15. Head-seals and head-pendants      | 119 |

## *List of Tables*

|                                                                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. The standard chronology for Cypriot history in the Cypro-Archaic period        | 159 |
| 2. Kings and kingdoms of Cyprus, mentioned in an inscribed clay prism of 673/2 BC | 160 |
| 3. Chronological schemes proposed for Cypriot sculpture                           | 161 |
| 4. Known Cypriot kings of the 6th and early 5th centuries BC                      | 162 |
| 5. Internal relations of the Cypriot kingdoms                                     | 163 |
| 6. Chronology of Cypro-Archaic history                                            | 164 |

## Abbreviations

The abbreviations are those of *L'Année philologique*. The following are used in addition:

|                         |                                                                                                           |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ABV                     | J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase Painting</i> (Oxford, 1956)                                     |
| AHw                     | W. von Soden (ed.), <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden, 1965–81)                                |
| ANET <sup>3</sup>       | J. B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> , 3rd edn. with supplement (Princeton, NJ, 1969) |
| ARAB ii                 | D. D. Luckenbill, <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i> , ii (Chicago, 1927)                    |
| Bikai, PPC              | P. M. Bikai, <i>The Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus</i> (Nicosia, 1987)                                      |
| Boardman, AGGems        | J. Boardman, <i>Archaic Greek Gems</i> (London, 1968)                                                     |
| Boardman, GGFR          | J. Boardman, <i>Greek Gems and Finger Rings</i> (London, 1970)                                            |
| Boardman, IGems         | J. Boardman, <i>Island Gems</i> (London, 1963)                                                            |
| CAD                     | <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago, 1956– )   |
| CAH                     | <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , new edn. (Cambridge, 1970– )                                           |
| CCSF                    | V. Karageorghis and J. des Gagniers, <i>La Céramique chypriote de style figuré</i> (Rome, 1974–9)         |
| EI                      | <i>Eretz-Israel</i>                                                                                       |
| FGHist                  | F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Leiden, 1923–58)                                 |
| Gjerstad, GGAPC         | E. Gjerstad, <i>Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery in Cyprus</i> (Stockholm, 1977)                       |
| GM                      | <i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>                                                                                |
| IstMitt                 | <i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>                                                                            |
| LGPN                    | P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , i (Oxford, 1987)          |
| Masson, ICS             | O. Masson, <i>Les Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques</i> (Paris, 1983)                                   |
| OCD <sup>2</sup>        | <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970)                                              |
| Ohnefalsch-Richter, KBH | M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, <i>Kypros, the Bible, and Homer</i> (London, 1893)                                 |
| RE                      | <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart and Munich, 1894– )       |
| Rev. d'Assyr.           | <i>Revue d'Assyriologie</i>                                                                               |

## Abbreviations

xvii

|                           |                                                                                                                                                    |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RIA                       | E. Ebeling et al. (eds.), <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> (Berlin and New York, 1928– )                                                        |
| SCE                       | E. Gjerstad et al., <i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition</i> (Stockholm, 1934–72)                                                                      |
| SEG                       | <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>                                                                                                           |
| Vollenweider, Geneva, i   | M. L. Vollenweider, <i>Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève: Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles, et camées</i> , i (Geneva, 1967)  |
| Vollenweider, Geneva, iii | M. L. Vollenweider, <i>Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève: Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles, et camées</i> , iii (Mainz, 1983) |
| Zazoff, AGDS iii          | P. Zazoff (ed.), <i>Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen</i> , iii (Wiesbaden, 1970)                                                              |
| Zwierlein-Diehl, AGDS ii  | E. Zwierlein-Diehl, <i>Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen</i> , ii (Munich, 1969)                                                               |

## Chronological Charts

- A. Absolute dates for the different archaeological periods of Cyprus. The dates provided are intended simply as a general guide. In the text, the term 'Archaic' is used interchangeably with the term 'Cypro-Archaic'.

|                         |     |              |
|-------------------------|-----|--------------|
| Late Cypriot Bronze Age | I   | 1600-1450 BC |
|                         | II  | 1450-1200    |
|                         | III | 1200-1050    |
| Cypro-Geometric Period  | I   | 1050-950     |
|                         | II  | 950-850      |
|                         | III | 850-750      |
| Cypro-Archaic Period    | I   | 750-600      |
|                         | II  | 600-475      |
| Cypro-Classical Period  | I   | 475-400      |
|                         | II  | 400-325      |

- B. The Neo-Assyrian kings, from the 8th to the 6th centuries BC

|                     |            |
|---------------------|------------|
| Tiglath-Pileser III | 744-727 BC |
| Shalmaneser V       | 726-722    |
| Sargon II           | 721-705    |
| Sennacherib         | 704-681    |
| Esarhaddon          | 680-669    |
| Ashurbanipal        | 668-627    |

- C. Babylonian kings, from the 7th to the 6th centuries BC

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| Nebuchadrezzar II | 604-562 BC |
| Amel-Marduk       | 561-560    |
| Neriglissar       | 559-556    |
| Labashi-Marduk    | 556        |
| Nabonidus         | 555-539    |

- D. Egyptian pharaohs, from the 7th to the 6th centuries BC (the Saite rulers of the 26th Dynasty)

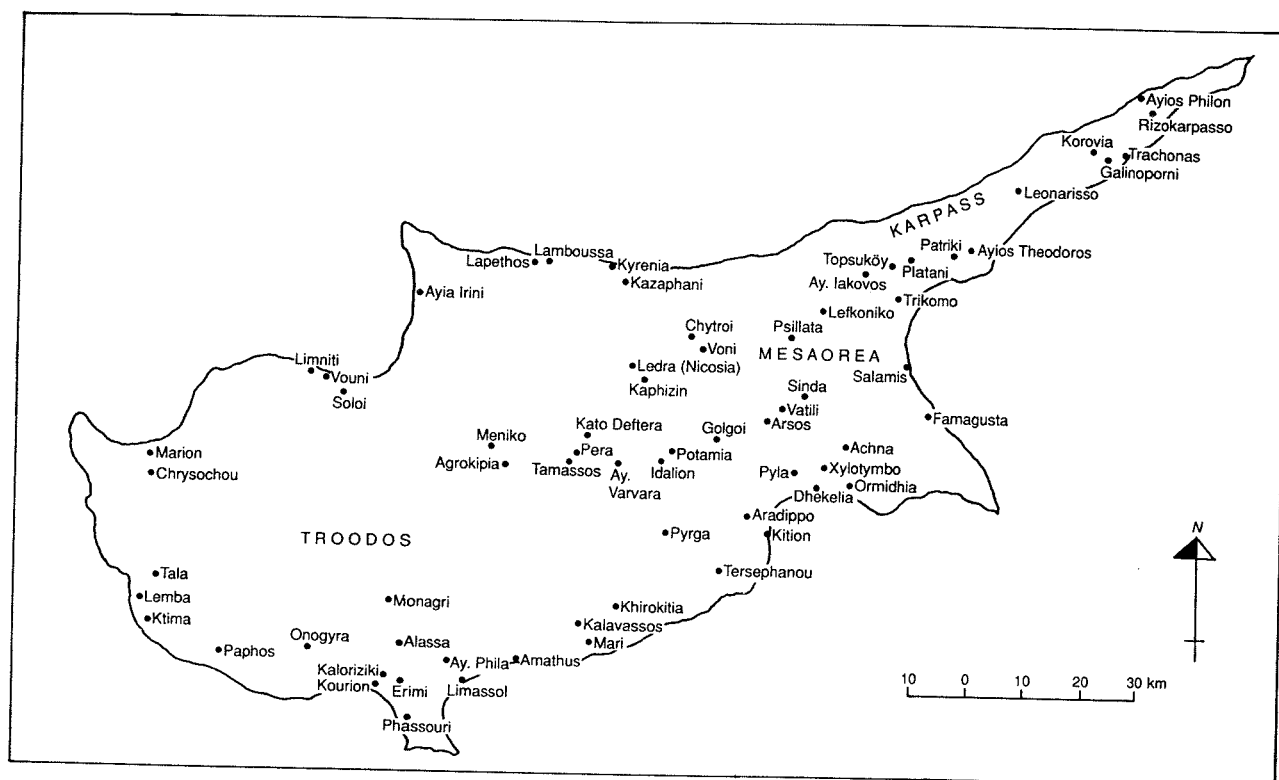
|                  |            |
|------------------|------------|
| Psammetichos I   | 664-610 BC |
| Necho II         | 610-595    |
| Psammetichos II  | 595-589    |
| Apries           | 589-570    |
| Amasis           | 570-526    |
| Psammetichos III | 526-525    |

## Chronological Charts

xix

- E. Persian kings, from the 6th to the early 5th centuries BC

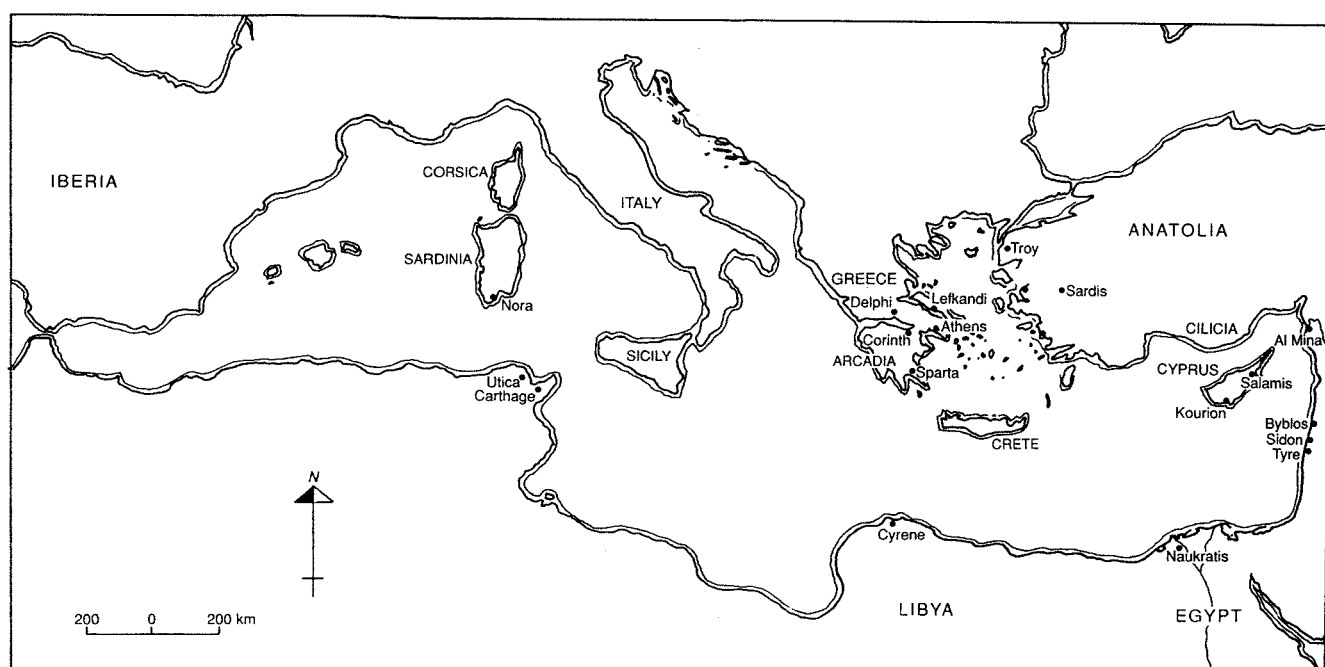
|          |            |
|----------|------------|
| Cyrus    | 559-530 BC |
| Cambyses | 530-522    |
| Darius I | 522-486    |
| Xerxes I | 486-465    |



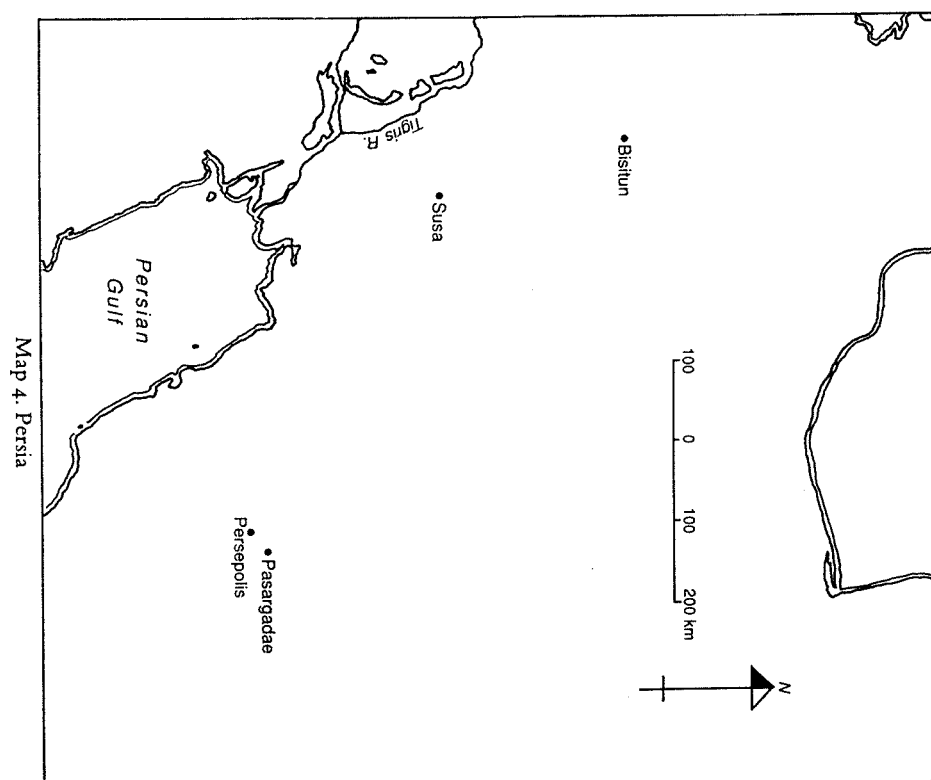
Map 1. Cyprus



Map 2. The Eastern Mediterranean



Map 3. The Mediterranean



Map 4. Persia



## Introduction

That is invariably the case in the East; a story always sounds clear enough at a distance, but the nearer you get to the scene of events, the vaguer it becomes.

George Orwell, 'Shooting an Elephant' (1936)

IN 1948, the archaeologist Einar Gjerstad, director of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition from 1927 to 1931, published the results of his expedition's research on Iron Age Cyprus. In doing so, he provided a historical framework upon which subsequent accounts of the island's past have relied.<sup>1</sup> Prior to 1948, the work of Oberhummer, Myres, and Hill had served as the basis for all general surveys of Cypriot archaeology and history.<sup>2</sup>

Eugen Oberhummer first brought to bear on the subject the philological and archaeological advances of the nineteenth century: the decipherment of cuneiform and the Cypriot syllabary; Cesnola's accounts of his antiquarian activities; and the results of British, German, and French excavations in Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Myres wrote the *Handbook of the*

<sup>1</sup> SCE iv.2. The principal surveys of Cypriot Iron-Age history published after 1948 are F. G. Maier, *Cyprus from Earliest Times to Present Day* (London, 1968); V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans* (London, 1982); P. J. Stylianou, *The Age of the Kingdoms: A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Nicosia, 1989); D. Hunt (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus*, 2nd edn. (London, 1990); *CAHP* iii.1, 511–33; iii.3, 57–70. K. Hadjiannou, *E Archaia Kupros eis tas Ellenikas Pegas* (Nicosia, 1971–83), provides an invaluable compendium of the ancient Greek sources. The works of Maier and Stylianou are notable for their disagreements with some of Gjerstad's historical conclusions. See also F. G. Maier, 'Factoids in Ancient History: The Case of Fifth-Century Cyprus' *JHS* 105 (1985), 32–9; M. J. M. Given, 'Symbols, Power, and the Construction of Identity in the City-Kingdoms of Ancient Cyprus, c.750–312 BC', Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (Cambridge, 1908) prints excerpts of accounts by early travellers and historians and provides a comprehensive bibliography of books and articles on Cyprus published from the late 15th to the early 20th cents. For a précis of archaeological research in Cyprus from 1800 onwards, see Masson, *ICS*, 17–29.

<sup>3</sup> See, most notably, E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern*, i (Munich, 1903) with a partial bibliography of the author's work (vol. ii was never published); *RE* 12 (1925), 59–117, s.v. 'Kypros', with references to the encyclopaedia articles by Oberhummer and others on individual Cypriot kingdoms.

*Cesnola Collection* and compiled, with the eminent German archaeologist Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, the *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, thereby creating a typological system for Cypriot material culture, which Gjerstad, in several respects, needed only to refine.<sup>4</sup> Sir George Hill, although modestly claiming in the preface to the first volume of his *History of Cyprus* that he provided 'no more than a compilation' of the views of others, produced an acute analysis of the textual and archaeological evidence known to him.<sup>5</sup> The careful work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, however, brought to light so much new information, that Gjerstad's summation immediately became—and still remains—the standard account of Cypriot history from the Early Iron Age in the eleventh century BC until the time of Alexander the Great in the fourth.

But while Gjerstad had an eye for a problem, and his discussions are always illuminating, his views inevitably stand in need of revision over forty years after their initial publication. With the increase in archaeological activity in Cyprus since the end of the Second World War, however, it is no longer possible to consider, as Gjerstad did, in depth and in a single volume, seven centuries of Cypriot history and archaeology from the end of the Late Bronze Age. Instead, this book simply surveys the history and archaeology of the island from about the middle of the eighth century to the late sixth century BC, roughly the time Gjerstad called the Cypro-Archaic period. Before then, the written and archaeological evidence remains, to a large degree, intractable. It is only in the eighth century that the surviving evidence allows one to consider Cyprus not only in relation to neighbouring areas, as is commonly done, but more importantly, as a discrete entity, in which different parts of the island interacted with each other. At the end of the sixth century, the nature of the evidence, and of Cyprus, changes considerably: textual sources are fuller; inscriptions more numerous; the island more Hellenic in character. That period is properly the subject of a different study.

<sup>4</sup> J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899); J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914). For other contributions by Myres to Cypriot archaeology, see Bibliography. For an assessment of Myres's contributions to Cypriot archaeology, see V. Karageorghis, *The Archaeology of Cyprus: The Ninety Years after Myres* (London, 1987), 3–5.

On the contributions of M. Ohnefalsch-Richter to Cypriot archaeology, see H.-G. Buchholz, 'Max Ohnefalsch-Richter als Archäologe auf Zypern' *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 11–12 (1989), 3–27.

<sup>5</sup> G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, i (Cambridge, 1940). Note also *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus* (London, 1904); 'Amathus' *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 5 (1937), 485–91 = *Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, i (Brussels).

## The Problems

There are three principal questions to be asked. The first is purely chronological. To what extent can one establish the chronology of events mentioned in the written sources? The other two are more subtle. How did Cyprus interact with the different foreign powers of the Near East and Egypt? What relations existed between different parts of the island? It cannot be claimed that, for any of these questions, the evidence is anything more than equivocal. But this is not, I think, true to the extent that it becomes impracticable to weigh one set of probabilities against another.

### GJERSTAD'S VIEWS

Gjerstad saw Cypriot history from the eighth to the sixth centuries as a series of political, military, and cultural disruptions brought about by the successive incursions of foreign overlords (Table 1).<sup>6</sup> The first were the Assyrians, whose dominion in the late eighth and early seventh centuries culminated in a 'period of political independence,' which Gjerstad dated c.669–570 BC.<sup>7</sup> This was curtailed by an Egyptian domination (c.570–545 BC, according to Gjerstad) that had begun in the early part of the reign of the Pharaoh Amasis. Egyptian rule, in turn, gave way to Persian overlordship which, Gjerstad thought, began around 545 BC.<sup>8</sup>

Accordingly, subsequent historical accounts, following Gjerstad, have emphasized the disruptions brought about by military incursions from outside the island, rather than the continuities within it. They have noted successive intrusions by Assyrians, Egyptians, and Persians, and pointed to their influences on Cypriot material culture. The Cypro-Archaic period is thus defined as a series of foreign 'dominations'.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> SCE iv.2, 449–78.

<sup>7</sup> The phrase 'period of political independence' has become standard in accounts of Cypro-Archaic history: cf. e.g. SCE iv.2, 452; V. Tatton-Brown, 'The Archaic Period', in Hunt (n. 1), 66, 83. Gjerstad revised his chronological framework slightly at the end of his life and suggested that an Assyrian domination would have continued into the time of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal: E. Gjerstad, 'The Phoenician Colonization and Expansion in Cyprus', *RDAC* 1979, 239 n. 4. He did not, however, present his reasoning. It is Gjerstad's earlier chronology that historians and archaeologists usually follow. See further below, p. 59–60.

<sup>8</sup> H. J. Watkin, 'The Cypriote Surrender to Persia', *JHS* 107 (1987), 154–63, successfully argues against Gjerstad's date for the entry of Cyprus into the Persian Empire.

<sup>9</sup> The term 'domination,' like the phrase 'period of political independence,' has become standard in Cypriot histories since 1948: cf. e.g. SCE iv.2, 451, 467; *CAH* iii.3, 57, 64, 69; A. Snodgrass, *Cyprus and Early Greek History* (Nicosia, 1988), 21; H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern* (Munich, 1985) 352–3 ('Oberhoheit').

Inherent also in Gjerstad's understanding of the Cypro-Archaic period was a belief in an essential enmity between Cyprus and the different foreign powers with which the island was in contact. Indeed, his vocabulary seems suspiciously derived from the experience of two World Wars.<sup>10</sup> He wrote of the 'control of Cypriote foreign policy'<sup>11</sup> and 'the loss of her political independence';<sup>12</sup> 'the sphere of world politics'<sup>13</sup> and 'the occupation of Cyprus'.<sup>14</sup> This assumption of antagonism has been carried over into the work of Gjerstad's successors,<sup>15</sup> and for that reason alone, it is worth re-examining what evidence there is for the ways in which Cyprus interacted with neighbouring areas.

Gjerstad, furthermore, worked at a time when archaeological thought in Europe was concerned with the identification of distinctive ethnic characters through the study of material artefacts. His writing is very much concerned with the ways in which one culture might oppose another, with the more 'advanced' dominating, assimilating, and transmuting the more 'primitive'.<sup>16</sup> The intellectual climate of the time, it seems, encouraged a view in which Cyprus, an apparent cultural crossroads by virtue of its geographical position in the eastern Mediterranean, became a battlefield of competing ethnic mentalities.

#### AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW

This book suggests, however, that in spite of the seeming emphasis of the available textual sources on military incursions, relations between Cyprus and the different foreign powers were perhaps less hostile than is generally thought. The crucial feature of the Cypro-Archaic period was not the series of disruptions apparently resulting from invasion, but the continuity of styles evident in the archaeology. It is, of course, impossible to claim categorically that successive entanglements, however defined, with Assyria, Egypt, and Persia were entirely without cultural ramifications within Cyprus. Given the evidence to hand, however, the influences that have been taken as reflections of foreign dominations may more

<sup>10</sup> Gjerstad's text, written during the Second World War (SCE iv.2, p. v) shows that he cared deeply about the tragedies of the war; note, e.g. SCE iv. 2, 353, on 'the political crimes committed on the basis of false doctrines'.

<sup>11</sup> SCE iv.2, 449.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 451.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 466.

<sup>15</sup> Note e.g. Karageorghis (n. 1), 129, 138; CAH<sup>2</sup> iii.1, 533; iii.3, 65, 69–70.

<sup>16</sup> See B. G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, 1990), 148–206; cf. K. Sklenář, *Archaeology in Central Europe: The First 500 Years* (Leicester and New York, 1983), 91; A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), 181 and n. 21.

plausibly be seen as either the result of close interaction with the Phoenician coast, or else as local innovations. In the latter half of the sixth century, Greek influences become strongly evident throughout the island.

Inevitably, as presented here, Cyprus will seem less the cultural crossroads between Orient and Occident that is now a commonplace description of the island—although this is not to deny the implications of its geographical position.<sup>17</sup> But this shift in perspective will help focus attention on the internal relations of Cyprus from the eighth to the sixth centuries, rather than on the external ones. Cyprus, an island comprising 9,251 sq. km. or about 3,572 sq. miles,<sup>18</sup> had at least ten separate kingdoms by the second quarter of the seventh century, according to a prism inscription of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, dated to 673/2 BC.<sup>19</sup> On that count, the average size of a kingdom would have been 925 sq. km. or 357 sq. miles at most, 'larger than any contemporary Greek polis of the homeland, apart from the two outsize instances of Sparta and Athens, larger, therefore, than the hundreds of smaller poleis of historical Greece'.<sup>20</sup> The extent to which one kingdom interacted with another requires examination, then, since previous studies have simply concentrated on the effects of foreign dominations on the local culture. Accordingly, after first considering briefly the cultural and social framework of the island (Part I), this book examines the textual and archaeological sources for Cypriot history from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC (Part II), and then looks at the internal and external relations between the different parts of the island to the extent that the evidence permits (Part III).

#### Dating the Cypro-Archaic Period

The archaeological identification of the Cypro-Archaic period depends, in large measure, upon the complex chronological system that Gjerstad

<sup>17</sup> A full study of Cyprus incorporating the relevant geographical data is currently impossible because of the inaccessibility of the island's northern half. On the geography of the island as a whole, D. Christodoulou, *The Evolution of the Rural Land Use Pattern in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1959), remains an essential guide. See also, for Amathus, B. Bousquet and P.-Y. Pécoux, 'Géographie du site', in P. Aupert and M.-C. Hellmann (eds.), *Amathonte*, i (Paris, 1984), 119–46; for Kition, K. Nicolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition* (Göteborg, 1976), 8–51; for Kourion, R. Bullard, 'Environmental Geology', in D. Soren (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates in Kourion, Cyprus* (Tucson, Ariz., 1987) 53–71.

<sup>18</sup> I. Robertson, *Blue Guide: Cyprus*<sup>2</sup> (London and New York, 1987), 39.

<sup>19</sup> See below, Table 2, p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> Snodgrass (n. 9) 14–15.

developed for classifying Cypriot pottery.<sup>21</sup> He established that particular types of pottery were characteristic of different periods, and that these could serve as approximate chronological indicators. Gjerstad was well aware, however, that the ceramic classification he propounded did not allow for regional variation.<sup>22</sup> It is therefore an important principle of his system that, although different types of pottery are deemed characteristic of particular periods, there is also significant chronological overlap between each period.<sup>23</sup>

What is needed to improve Gjerstad's system is comparative evidence from settlement-sites throughout Cyprus, and this is not yet to hand. For present purposes, therefore, it seems best to accept the standard absolute chronology for the pottery of the Cypro-Archaic period as established by Gjerstad and refined by others.<sup>24</sup> The ceramics characteristic of the period Gjerstad designated as pottery-types III, IV, and V. Type III pottery occurs very early in the Cypro-Archaic period, around the middle of the eighth century. It is then succeeded by Type IV pottery, which is particularly characteristic of the second half of the eighth and the seventh centuries BC. Type IV pottery is, in turn, followed by Type V pottery in the sixth and early fifth centuries. The points of transition between these ceramic types still remain in contention.<sup>25</sup>

This book, then, provides a general study of Cyprus from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC, when, according to Gjerstad, Cypriot art 'reached its meridian and summer of maturity'.<sup>26</sup> This is a view not now often upheld, since Cypriot studies tend to concentrate on the prehistoric

<sup>21</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 48–91, 184–206, 421–7.

<sup>22</sup> E. Gjerstad, 'Pottery Types, Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Classical', *OpAth* 3 (1960), 106; cf. the criticisms of H. W. Catling, 'Archaeological Comment', in R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies* (Athens, 1986), 580, on Gjerstad's system for classifying prehistoric Cypriot pottery.

<sup>23</sup> Gjerstad (n. 22), 107–8.

<sup>24</sup> For refinements, corrections, and challenges to the chronological framework initially presented in *SCE* iv.2, see J. DuPlat Taylor, 'The Cypriot and Syrian Pottery from Al Mina, Syria' *Iraq* 21 (1959), 62–92; Gjerstad (n. 22), 105–22; J. Birmingham, 'The Chronology of Some Early and Middle Iron Age Cypriot Sites', *AJA* 67 (1963), 15–42. See also J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968), 318–20, with other bibliography. It is now clear that the chronologically-diagnostic archaeological strata in Syria and Palestine (notably at Al Mina, Tell Abu Hawam, and Megiddo) used by Birmingham and others are less well-defined than had been previously thought.

<sup>25</sup> Note e.g. F. Vandenabeele, 'La Chronologie absolue du chypre-géométrique', *Dédalo*, 14 (1971), 7–22; J. N. Coldstream, 'Geometric Skyphoi in Cyprus', *RDAC* 1979, 255–69; A. Demetriadou, 'Datierung der Periode Cypro-Archaisch I' *AA* (1978) 12–25, and see also, for a fuller argument, id., *Cypro-Aegean Relations in the Early Iron Age* (Göteborg, 1989).

<sup>26</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 448.

periods: 'the most stalwart defenders of Cypriot originality rarely look beyond the Bronze Age; as for the Iron Age, their general impression is of dull pots mass-produced on the wheel, and other forms of art which are lifeless and derivative.'<sup>27</sup> The range of material studied here should allow for a more balanced assessment, or even refute that claim altogether.

<sup>27</sup> J. N. Coldstream, *The Originality of Ancient Cypriot Art* (Nicosia, 1986), 14.

## *The Local Populations*

History in this island is almost too profuse.

Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana* (London, 1937; repr. 1950), 22

It is necessary to start by reviewing what is known about Cyprus and its populations in the Cypro-Archaic period. The traditional view maintains that three populations coexisted within the island. These are the Greeks; indigenous inhabitants that modern scholars call 'Eteocypriots'; and the Phoenicians.<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion, however, about the extent to which the historical and archaeological evidence can be used to identify these different ethnic groups. Before proceeding, therefore, one needs to be clear about what can and cannot be known about the local populations of Cyprus in the Cypro-Archaic period.

### *Cypriots and Greeks*

Within Cyprus, some people, at least, were speaking Greek from a very early time.<sup>2</sup> A bronze spit, inscribed with the Greek name *Ὀφέλτας* in the Cypriot syllabary and assigned to a context dating to the eleventh century BC (Pl. 1), has demonstrated the use of Greek from around that time in Paphos.<sup>3</sup> In addition, linguistic analyses of the Greek vocabulary used in Cyprus during the Classical periods have shown that archaisms were typical of it. Cypriot Greek shows particular affinities with the Arcadian dialect of the Greek mainland.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, it has been

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. SCE iv.2, 428–30, 436; J. Seibert, 'Zur Bevölkerungsstruktur Zyperns', *AncSoc* 7 (1976), 1–28.

<sup>2</sup> In later historical periods Cypriot use of the language was thought somewhat idiosyncratic: *AP* 11. 146.

<sup>3</sup> F. G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos* (Nicosia, 1984), 134, 137, fig. 114; Masson, *ICS*, 408, no. 189; *LGP*N, 355. For doubts about the archaeological context of the spit, see B. B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991), 90 n. 42.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. C. M. Bowra, 'Homeric Words in Cyprus' *JHS* 54 (1934), 54–74; M. Sakellariou, 'Achéens et arcadiens', in J. Karageorghis and O. Masson (eds.), *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1988) 9–17; cf. M. Voyatzis, 'Arcadia and Cyprus: Aspects of their Interrelationship between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC', *RDAC* 1985, 155–63; N. Ehrhardt, 'Zur Geschichte

supposed that, after the arrival of settlers from Greece at the end of the Late Bronze Age, the 'Hellenization' of the island had already 'progressed considerably' by the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup>

To this, one need raise no very strong objection, but it should be emphasized that the precise extent of the island's Hellenism by the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period is difficult to gauge.<sup>6</sup> The use of the Greek language, at least in parts of Cyprus, is certain. But although Cypriots claimed kinship with Greeks in their foundation myths,<sup>7</sup> it still seems clear from written sources that the Greeks tended to regard the island as a distinctively foreign place, on the periphery of the Eastern world, if not part of it, with its own peculiar customs and features.<sup>8</sup>

Consequently, the question of the extent to which a native population had, by the eighth century, assimilated the immigrant Greek population of the Late Bronze Age is best left open. Modifications no doubt took place over the centuries, but these would have been mutual.<sup>9</sup> For the Cypro-Archaic period, then, it seems more appropriate to speak simply of a distinctively Cypriot, as opposed to Greek, culture, without drawing any inferences about the separate survival and existence of Greek or Eteocypriot groups within the island. The term 'Greek' is therefore used here simply as a description of those coming to Cyprus from the Greek

der griechischen Handels- und Kolonisationsfahrten im Östlichen Mittelmeer im Spiegel von Epos und Periplus-Literatur', in *Orientalisch-Agäische Einflüsse in der Europäischen Bronzezeit* (Bonn, 1990), 16–19. On the relationship between Cyprus and Arcadia, note also Paus. 8. 5. 2–3; 53. 7.

<sup>5</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans* (London, 1982), 114.

<sup>6</sup> On the Hellenic character of Cyprus, see also C. Baurain, 'Passé légendaire, archéologie et réalité historique: L'Hellenisation de Chypre', *Annal. Econ. Soc. Civ.* 44, no. 2 (mars/avril, 1989) 463–77; V. Cook, 'Cyprus and the Outside World during the Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age', *OpAth* 17 (1988), 13–32.

<sup>7</sup> The historicity of the myths cannot, of course, be proved or disproved. For an attempt to match the mythical tradition with the archaeological record, see E. Gjerstad, 'The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend', *OpArch* 3 (1944), 107–23; M. Fortin, 'Fondation de villes grecques à Chypre: Légendes et découvertes archéologiques', in J.-B. Caron et al. (eds.), *Mélanges d'études anciennes offerts à Maurice Lebel* (Quebec, 1980), 25–44.

<sup>8</sup> On the literary evidence for the ways in which Greeks viewed Cyprus, see A. H. Sommerstein, 'Notes on Aeschylus' *Suppliants*', *BICS* 24 (1977), 71. See also Ath. 6. 255e, 6. 257d–e, and cf. P. J. Stylianou, *The Age of the Kingdoms: A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Nicosia, 1989), 508–10. If Sommerstein's emendation of A. *Supp.* 282–3 is correct, then the well-known phrase κύπριος χαρακτήρ no longer qualifies as evidence. On these particular lines, see also C. E. Hadjisteophanous, 'ΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* 282–3: A New Interpretation and Contextual Interpretation', *Hermes* 118 (1990), 282–91; K. Hadjiannou, 'On the Interpretation of the ΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ of Aeschylus' and S. A. Hadjistyllis, 'ΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ' (A. *Supp.* 282): A Discussion of a New Interpretation', in *Praktika tou Deuterou Diethnous Kupriologikou Synedriou* (Nicosia, 1985), 509–20. M. L. West's Teubner edition (Stuttgart, 1990) retains the traditional reading.

<sup>9</sup> A. Snodgrass, *Cyprus and Early Greek History* (Nicosia, 1988), 12.

mainland or the Greek islands in the Cypro-Archaic period for whatever reasons, rather than as a more general term denoting a population immigrant in the Late Bronze Age and continuing as an identifiable and discrete cultural entity in the eighth century and afterward.

### Eteocypriots

If the conclusion of the last section is correct, then it is probably better, in discussing Cyprus in the eighth century and later, to restrict the use of the term 'Eteocypriot' to the still undeciphered language in which a small number of syllabic inscriptions from the island are written.<sup>10</sup> The word was coined by the philologist Johannes Friedrich in 1932 on analogy with the 'Eteocretans,' the indigenous inhabitants of Crete, mentioned in a passage in Homer's *Odyssey* (19. 172–7).<sup>11</sup> Friedrich thought of the language as 'die Sprache der Urbevölkerung von Cypern',<sup>12</sup> and subsequent writers have followed him in taking the Eteocypriot language as an indication of the presence of an autochthonous population.<sup>13</sup>

But the survival of such a language or even particular aspects of it does not necessarily denote the survival of small pockets of Eteocypriots and the persistence of an identifiably Eteocypriot culture. Gjerstad's notions of an Eteocypriot culture ebbing and flowing in successive generations against the strong tide of a Mycenaean Greek culture are difficult to credit as an explanation of the changes in the archaeological record over time. His views here seem to reflect the somewhat romantic state of archaeological thinking in the early twentieth century.<sup>14</sup>

The existence of an indigenous Eteocypriot population, centred primarily in Amathus, is argued on the basis of three literary references and certain archaeological observations. The references are as follows:

1. Theopompos of Chios, *FGrHist* 115 F 103 (4th cent. BC), cited in an epitome from Photius, *Bibliotheca* 176. 120a (9th cent. AD).

<sup>10</sup> A firm distinction must be drawn between syllabic inscriptions that are simply unintelligible when transliterated and those which exhibit the morphological structures that are thought characteristic of the Eteocypriot language. An unintelligible inscription is not *ipso facto* Eteocypriot. Cf. T. B. Mitford and O. Masson, *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos* (Constance, 1983), 27.

<sup>11</sup> J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1932), 49–52. For a summary of the philological work on Eteocypriot inscriptions since Clermont-Ganneau's recognition in 1876 that the language involved was not Greek, see Masson, *ICS*, 85–7.

<sup>12</sup> Friedrich (n. 11), 49.

<sup>13</sup> Note e.g. *SCE* iv.2, 435, 452; cf. J. N. Coldstream, 'The Geometric and Archaic Periods', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985* (Nicosia, 1985), 50.

<sup>14</sup> Above, p. 4.

τίνα τε τρόπον Ἕλληνες οἱ σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν Κύπρον κατέσχον ἀπελάσαντες τοὺς μετὰ Κινύρου ὧν εἰσιν ὑπολιπεῖς Ἀμαθούσιοι . . .

of the manner by which the Greeks who were with Agamemnon took Cyprus, after they had driven away those who were with Kinyras; of the latter, the people of Amathus are the remainder.

2. Pseudo-Skylax 103 (? 4th cent. BC).

ΚΥΠΡΟΣ. Κατὰ δὲ Κιλικίαν ἐστὶ νῆσος Κύπρος, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ αἰδε-  
Σαλαμίς Ἑλληνίς, λιμένα ἔχουσα κλειστόν χειμερινόν, Καρπάσεια, Κερύνεια,  
Λήπηθις Φοινίκων, Σόλοι (καὶ αὕτη λιμένα ἔχει χειμερινόν), Μάριον Ἑλληνίς,  
Ἀμαθοῦς (αὐτόχθονές εἰσιν) · αὗται πᾶσαι λιμένας ἔχουσαι ἐρήμους. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐν μεσογείᾳ βάρβαροι.

Cyprus. Opposite Cilicia is the island of Cyprus, and these are the *poleis* in it: Salamis, which is Greek and has a closed winter harbour; the Karpas; Keryneia; Lapethos, which is Phoenician; Soloi (this also has a winter harbour); Marion, which is Greek; Amathus (they are autochthonous). All these have deserted (? summer) harbours. And there are also *poleis* speaking strange languages inland.

3. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v., Ἀμαθοῦς (5th cent. AD).

πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη . . . ἀπὸ Ἀμαθούντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐκλήθη ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Κινύρου μητρὸς Ἀμαθούσης.

Amathus: a very old city of Cyprus . . . It takes its name from Amathous, son of Herakles, or from the mother of Kinyras, Amathousa.

Baurain has provided the most thorough discussion of these passages.<sup>15</sup> From the first reference, he accepts the possibility that descendants of a figure named Kinyras may have settled in Amathus. But since Theopompos drew no firm distinction between the legendary and historical, it is difficult to judge the accuracy of his statement.<sup>16</sup> At any rate, Kinyras' descendants in Amathus need not have remained of purely native stock. The second and third references Baurain finds too unreliable to be useful,<sup>17</sup> and that is undoubtedly correct. Much value is placed on the term 'autochthonous' used by Ps.-Skylax, but the author may simply have extrapolated from the reference in Theopompos' work. The reference in the work of Stephanus of Byzantium is equally ambiguous. It need not show that a native Eteocypriot population founded Amathus. It may mean, as Rawlinson thought, that Amathus was the oldest

<sup>15</sup> C. Baurain, 'Réflexions sur les origines de la ville d'après les sources littéraires', in P. Aupert and M.-C. Hellman (eds.), *Amathonte*, i (Paris, 1984), 109–17.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 109–13.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 113–17.

Phoenician settlement, an interpretation which finds some support from the archaeological material recovered in the area.<sup>18</sup>

As an additional argument for the presence of an Eteocypriot enclave at Amathus, the quantity of inscriptions that are written in the Eteocypriot language and found in that area is sometimes adduced. But the number of these is not large or statistically significant.<sup>19</sup> None seems to date to the Cypro-Archaic period. Indeed, most, if not all, of the allegedly Eteocypriot inscriptions from the island probably date to the fourth century BC.<sup>20</sup>

As archaeological evidence for an Eteocypriot population, Gjerstad had before him, at Amathus, distinctively-cut shaft graves with short and narrow entrance passages (Fig. 1). These he claimed as indicative of an Eteocypriot presence. But Gjerstad's reasoning is circular at this point. Since he had already decided from the literary evidence that Amathus was an Eteocypriot stronghold, he argued that this type of tomb was Eteocypriot, and then used this conclusion to reinforce his earlier claim that Amathus was an Eteocypriot kingdom.<sup>21</sup>

At Lapethos, Gjerstad observed the segregation of shaft graves similar to those found in Amathus from rock-cut chamber tombs similar to ones in Mycenaean Greece (Fig. 2).<sup>22</sup> He therefore suggested that the Eteocypriot population was buried in one cemetery, the Greek

<sup>18</sup> G. Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia* (London, 1889), 94. On the Phoenician finds from Amathus, see A. Hermay, 'Amathonte de Chypre et les phéniciens', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 375–88. For the early Phoenician pottery from Amathus, admittedly not as much as the pottery from Paphos, see Bikai, *PPC*, 60–1; ead., 'The Phoenician Pottery', in V. Karageorghis et al. (eds.), *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, tombes 113–367*, ii. *Céramiques non chypriotes* (Nicosia, 1987), 1–5. On the evidence for occupation at Amathus in the eleventh and tenth centuries BC, see V. Karageorghis and M. Iacovou, 'Amathus Tomb 521: A Cypro-Geometric I Group', *RDAC* 1990, 75–98.

<sup>19</sup> For examples of inscriptions thought to be in the Eteocypriot language see the endnote to this chapter, p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Masson, *ICS*, 85. But if Masson is correct in suggesting that his nos. 258 and 258a from Kition are Eteocypriot, then these inscriptions might be assigned to the early Cypro-Archaic period on the basis of the chronology of the Red-Slip pottery on which they appear. Masson, *ICS*, 197–8, no. 183 from Kourion is a gem, inscribed with an allegedly Eteocypriot name, that may be dated to the early 5th cent. on the basis of the style of the device. But the name may be taken as Greek, rather than as Eteocypriot; see above, n. 19. The inscription from Amathus published in Hermay and Masson, 'Deux vases' (n. 19), 211–14, may be assigned to any time between the 7th and the 5th cents. if Hermay's stylistic dating for the vase on which the inscription appears is followed. It is possible too that the use of Eteocypriot is actually indicative of a 4th-cent. date for the vase. Masson and Mitford, *Kouklia* (n. 19), 97–8, no. 224, may date to the 6th cent. since it was apparently found as part of the Persian siege ramp built up in 498 BC. But the inscription *ta-na-si-o-ti* is too short to be certain that it is Eteocypriot. No. 225, thought to be Eteocypriot and possibly from the siege ramp as well, was actually found reused as part of a modern pavement.

<sup>21</sup> *SCE* iv. 2, 430–2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 431–2.

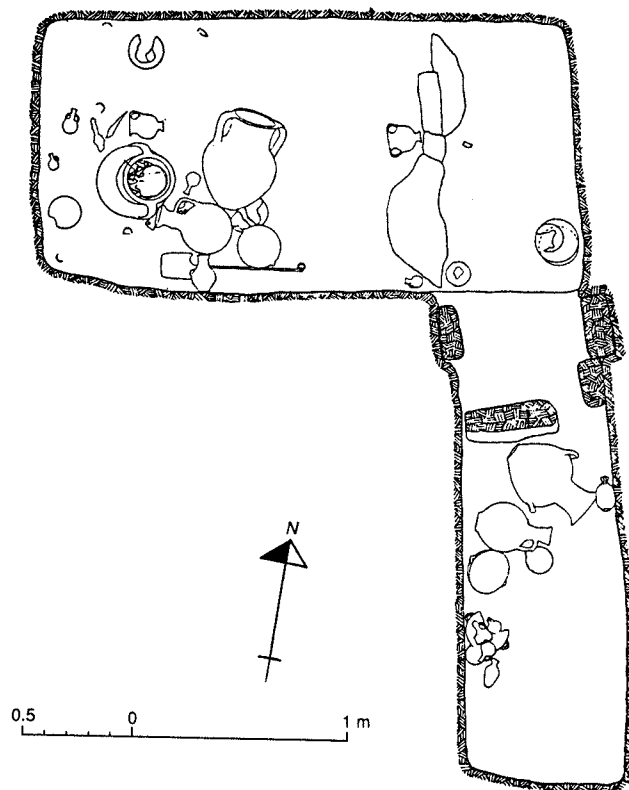


FIG. 1. Plan of a Cypro-Geometric tomb at Amathus (no. 18), claimed by Gjerstad as 'Eteocyprriot' (After SCE ii, 101, fig. 32, no. 6)

population in the other. Two cemeteries at Palaepaphos are said to have been organized similarly.<sup>23</sup>

It is not necessarily the case, however, that the shaft graves belonged to so-called Eteocyprriots. As Gjerstad himself saw, the graves at Amathus and Lapethos had affinities with Levantine tomb architecture.<sup>24</sup> The absence, furthermore, of any significant ethnic distinction between the different cemeteries at Lapethos and Palaepaphos is suggested by the similarity of the burial contents and the methods of burying the corpses.<sup>25</sup> In addition, Gjerstad's Eteocyprriot cemetery at Lapethos-Plakes

<sup>23</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Alt-Paphos*, iii (Constance, 1983), 371.

<sup>24</sup> SCE iv.2, 432.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 433.

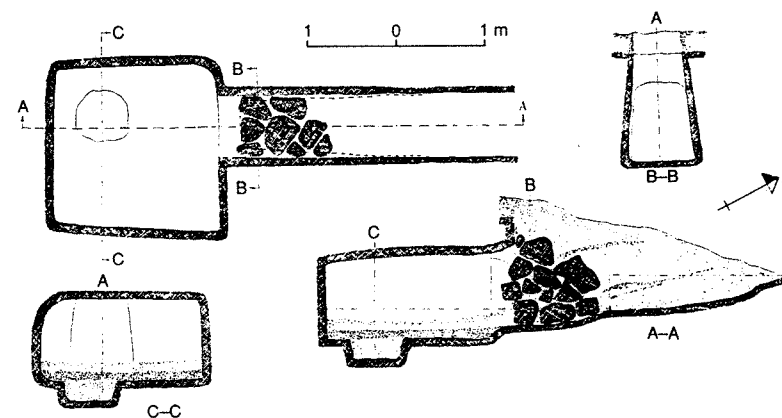


FIG. 2. Plan and sections of a Cypro-Geometric tomb at Lapethos (no. 401), claimed by Gjerstad as Mycenaean (After SCE i, 180, fig. 68, no. 1)

consisted of only three tombs,<sup>26</sup> and there are also examples of the 'Eteocyprriot' shaft graves in the so-called 'Greek' cemetery at Lapethos-Kastros.<sup>27</sup> The differences in the types of tombs are probably due more to economic or even geographical exigencies than to ethnic differences.<sup>28</sup>

There is no reason to suppose, therefore, that an Eteocyprriot population formed a distinct group at Amathus or elsewhere by the Cypro-Archaic period. The Eteocyprriot inscriptions may simply be a phenomenon peculiar to the circumstances of fourth-century Cyprus, rather than a sign of the tenacious survival of an Eteocyprriot population from the Late Bronze Age. It is worth noting that, as with the inscriptions, none of the literary references to an autochthonous enclave within Cyprus is earlier than the fourth century.<sup>29</sup> If the argument is correct, then it is likely too that the refusal of Amathus to participate in the Ionian revolt against Persia in 499 BC probably had more to do with political shrewdness and expedience than with ethnically-derived animosity.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> SCE i, 265-76.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 265.

<sup>28</sup> As is suggested by the excavations at the necropolis in Salamis, where the Cellarka tombs are generally small and of poor quality, in comparison to the 'royal' tombs nearby. On the economic significance of the different tombs at Salamis, see V. Karageorghis, *Salamis* (London, 1969), 99-100.

<sup>29</sup> Baurain (n. 15), 112, citing Paus. 1. 3. 2, suggests that Evagoras, king of Salamis from 411 to 374 BC, may have hoped to legitimize his rule by claiming kinship with an autochthonous population through a presumed descent from the hero Teuker and the daughter of Kinyras.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Karageorghis (n. 5), 155; Seibert (n. 1), 11. See also F. G. Maier, 'Factoids in Ancient History: The Case of Fifth-Century Cyprus', *JHS* 105 (1985), 39; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940), 118.



### The Phoenicians

It seems best, therefore, simply to speak of 'Cypriots,' rather than of separate Greek and Eteocypriot populations. On the other hand, it is justifiable, in the Cypro-Archaic period, to speak of Phoenician settlements within the island. Inscriptions written in the Phoenician language demonstrate the presence of settlers and colonizers from the Phoenician mainland at this time.<sup>31</sup>

It is difficult, however, to determine the date of the first Phoenician settlements in Cyprus. The proximity of Cyprus to the Levant ensured trade and contact between the two places from an early time. The earliest Phoenician pottery known from the island dates to the eleventh century,<sup>32</sup> and Cypriot pottery is reported from chronologically corresponding levels at Tyre and Sarepta on the southern Phoenician coast.<sup>33</sup> Cypriots and Phoenicians would also have met elsewhere in the Levant and Egypt.<sup>34</sup>

But the presence of Phoenician pottery in Cyprus need not imply Phoenician settlement and colonization. For this, the most important evidence is the Phoenician temple at Kition (Fig. 3), built on the existing foundations of a Late Bronze Age structure 'sometime after the middle of the ninth century BC'.<sup>35</sup> At Salamis, bodies of infants were buried in Phoenician jars that could be assigned to the tenth and early ninth centuries on the basis of their association with Cypriot White-Painted pottery.<sup>36</sup> It is probably significant too that Cypriot imitations of

<sup>31</sup> For a study of the principal Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus, see O. Masson and M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les phéniciens à Chypre* (Geneva and Paris, 1972); J. B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 13–41.

<sup>32</sup> P. M. Bikai, 'Trade Networks in the Early Iron Age: The Phoenicians at Palaepaphos', in D. W. Rupp (ed.), *Western Cyprus: Connections* (Göteborg, 1987), 125–8; Bikai 'Phoenician Pottery' (n. 18) 1; Bikai, *PPC*, 68–9.

<sup>33</sup> P. M. Bikai, *The Phoenician Pottery of Tyre* (Warminster, 1978), 66 (level XIII, 1070/50 BC); R. B. Koehl, *Sarepta*, iii (Beirut, 1985), 45–50, 124, 147–8. Cf. also A. Gilboa, 'New Finds at Tel Dor and the Beginning of Cypro-Geometric Pottery Import to Palestine', *IEJ* 39 (1989), 204–18; J. Yellin, 'The Origin of Some Cypro-Geometric Pottery from Tel Dor', *IEJ* 29 (1989) 219–27.

<sup>34</sup> For the written and archaeological evidence for Phoenicians in the Levant and Egypt, see e.g. M. Gras et al., *L'Univers phénicien* (Paris, 1989), 32–3, 80–2; E. Lipinski, 'Notes d'épigraphie phénicienne et punique', *OLP* 14 (1983), 139–41; id., 'Phoenicians in Anatolia and Assyria, Ninth–Sixth Centuries BC', *OLP* 16 (1985), 81–90. See also S. Mitchell, 'Archaeology in Asia Minor 1985–89', *AR* 1990, 86, for additional Phoenician inscriptions from Anatolia.

<sup>35</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Kition* (London, 1976), 96–100; cf. E. Gjerstad, 'The Phoenician Colonization and Expansion in Cyprus', *RDAC* 1979, 232–3. See also A. Papageorgiou, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1989', *BCH* 114 (1990), 962.

<sup>36</sup> Y. Calvet, 'Sur certains rites funéraires à Salamine de Chypre', *Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie* (Paris, 1978), 115–21. On this burial practice in Phoenicia, see P. Smith et al., 'Human Remains from the Iron Age Cemeteries at Akhziv, Part 1: The Built Tomb from the Southern Cemetery', *RSF* 18 (1990), 137–50.

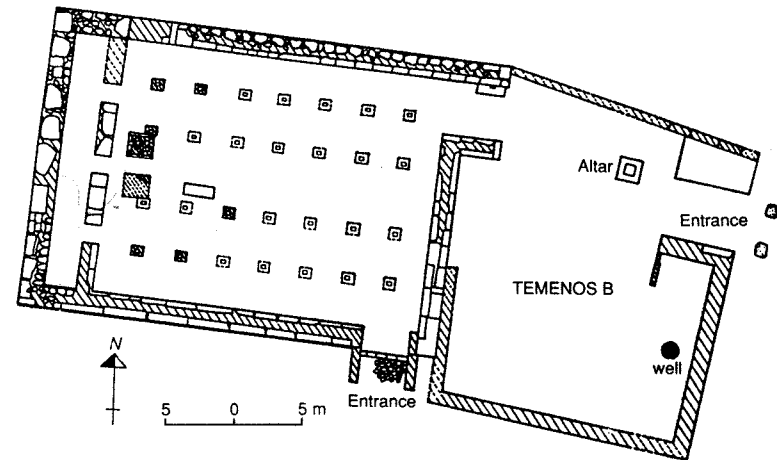


FIG. 3. Plan of the Phoenician Temple of Astarte at Kition, dating to after the middle of the 9th cent. BC (After V. Karageorghis, *Kition*, 118–19, fig. 18)

Phoenician Black-on-Red and Red-Slip pottery began around the middle of the ninth century.<sup>37</sup> Such as it is, therefore, the archaeological evidence for the chronology of the initial Phoenician settlement of Cyprus indicates a date within the ninth century.

The earliest epigraphical evidence is a short Phoenician inscription of uncertain meaning inscribed on the base of a vase made of green stone.<sup>38</sup> Masson and Sznycer date the inscription to the eleventh century on the basis of the style of the letter-forms.<sup>39</sup> The vase itself, of a type that was current in the eastern Mediterranean between the twelfth and tenth centuries BC, was probably purchased by Cesnola, the American consul to Cyprus, in a bazaar at Nicosia sometime before 1876. Thus, there can be no certainty that it is from Cyprus, and, consequently, the inscription loses much of its historical value.

A Phoenician inscription on a stone stele now in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, has been assigned to the first half of the ninth century on the

<sup>37</sup> Coldstream (n. 13), 52; id., *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968), 346–7. On Cypriot Black-on-Red wares, note, however, P. M. Bikai, in J. N. Coldstream and P. M. Bikai, 'Early Greek Pottery in Tyre and Cyprus', *RDAC* 1988/2, 37: '... this writer has always been mystified by the suggestion that Black-on-Red is Phoenician.'

<sup>38</sup> M. G. G. Amadasi and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition*, iii (Nicosia, 1977), 185–6, no. F3, pl. 16, no. 2, with bibliography.

<sup>39</sup> Masson and Sznycer (n. 31), 129.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 11–20.

basis of the style of its lettering.<sup>40</sup> But its provenance is also unknown. A Phoenician theophoric name, painted on a Cypriot Bichrome jug from Salamis that can be dated between 950 and 850 BC, may imply a Phoenician presence, but not necessarily a settlement at that time.<sup>41</sup> Dupont-Sommer read the word 'Kition' on a stone dedicatory inscription from Nora in Sardinia, which, if belonging to the ninth century, would imply that, as a settlement, Kition had already been founded by then.<sup>42</sup> But the chronology of the inscription from Nora is insecure, and the reading of the text is uncertain.<sup>43</sup>

Historical texts bearing on the chronology of the first Phoenician settlements in Cyprus are as problematic as the epigraphical evidence. If there are any historical strands in the foundation legends concerning the different Phoenician colonies, these can no longer be successfully disentangled.<sup>44</sup> Two passages from the work of the historian Josephos (first century AD) are usually emended to read that King Hiram I of Tyre, who ruled in the tenth century BC, marched against the people of Kition because they refused to pay him tribute.<sup>45</sup> If that is correct, then Kition must have been established as a colony by the tenth century. Since that argument depends upon a textual emendation, however, its value is uncertain.<sup>46</sup>

A Phoenician Red-Slip bowl of the ninth century, excavated in 1969 at Kition, was found inscribed with a dedication in the Phoenician script.<sup>47</sup> The precise reading of the text itself remains uncertain, but its

<sup>40</sup> J. Pouilloux et al., *Salamine de Chypre*, xiii (Paris, 1987), 9, no. A, pl. 1; M. Szynger, 'Salamine et les phéniciens', in *Salamine de Chypre* (n. 36), 123–9.

<sup>41</sup> A. Dupont-Sommer, 'Les Phéniciens à Chypre', *RDAC* 1974, 82–3.

<sup>42</sup> Masson and Szynger (n. 31), 14 n. 4, on the chronology; *ibid.* 84 n. 2 for variant readings. For an assessment of earlier epigraphical attempts to prove that Kition was founded prior to the 9th cent., see E. Oberhammer, *RE* xi, 536, s.v. Kition.

<sup>43</sup> On the myths and legends relating to Phoenician settlement in Cyprus, see G. Bunnens, *L'Expansion phénicienne en méditerranée* (Brussels and Rome, 1979), 348–58.

L. P. di Cesnola has probably misremembered when, in *Cyprus* (London, 1877) 2, he cites Eusebius as 'saying that the town of Paphos had been founded by Israelites expelled in the time of the first judge Athaniel'. For Eusebius on the foundation of Paphos, note *Eus. Chron.* 48b (Helm) = *Synkellos* 158c.

<sup>44</sup> *AJ* 8, 146; *Ap.* 1, 119, reading *Ἰρυκαλοῖς* (Gutschmid). S. Gsell et al., *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, i (Paris, 1921) 361 nn. 7 and 9 rejected Gutschmid's emendation in favour of *κίτταλοῖς*, following a suggestion in F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier* (Berlin, 1849) 331. For a summary of the scholarship on this passage, see P. Cintas, *Manuel d'archéologie punique*, i (Paris, 1970), 290. Gsell's emendation is accepted in e.g. S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians* (London, 1968), 97, 103; H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem, 1973), 84–5; Karageorghis, (n. 5), 95.

<sup>45</sup> For arguments against emending Josephos' text, see Cintas (n. 45), 290.

<sup>46</sup> M. G. G. Amadasi and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition*, iii (Nicosia, 1977), 149–60, no. D21.

dedicatory nature is clear. As the bowl was apparently dedicated in the Phoenician temple at Kition, it suggests that, by the end of the ninth century, a Phoenician settlement was in existence there.

Rawlinson pointed out that 'the nearest and probably the first region to attract Phoenician colonization was the island of Cyprus', but refrained from suggesting a date.<sup>48</sup> Since a literary tradition exists concerning a Phoenician presence in the western Mediterranean during the Early Iron Age (tenth century BC and earlier),<sup>49</sup> it could be argued that the Phoenician colonization of Cyprus must already have taken place by then. But ancient thinking on chronology is notoriously difficult to evaluate, and there are no firm criteria against which this particular literary tradition can be judged. Indeed, a strong foothold in Cyprus need not have been a *sine qua non* of Phoenician colonization, if that is the correct term.

Taken as a whole, therefore, the archaeological and textual evidence indicates Phoenician settlement in Cyprus by at least the ninth century BC. This seems to cohere with current theories on the foundation-dates of Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean.<sup>50</sup> But the extent of Phoenician trade and settlement outside the Phoenician homeland prior to the ninth century remains uncertain.

By the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period, then, Cypriots and Phoenicians are settled side-by-side in the island. But as is usual in the eastern Mediterranean, there are also contacts with other neighbouring groups and peoples—with Greeks, Egyptians, Anatolians, and others. Cyprus is, at this time, part of an international world. As the next chapter will suggest, the interest shown in the island by Near Eastern rulers during the Cypro-Archaic period did not result in 'the incorporation of Cyprus into the sphere of world politics', as Gjerstad thought.<sup>51</sup> Rather, the already-prevalent internationalism of Cyprus brought about the interest of the Near Eastern empires.

<sup>48</sup> Rawlinson (n. 18), 91.

<sup>49</sup> For a review of the ancient literary evidence for Phoenician colonization in the western Mediterranean, see Gras et al. (n. 34), 54–6; E. Forrer, 'Karthago wurde erst 673–663 v. Chr. gegründet', in H. Kusch (ed.), *Festschrift Franz Dornseiff* (Leipzig, 1953), 85–93.

<sup>50</sup> For recent research on the date of the Phoenician westward expansion, see e.g. S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (Milan, 1988), 46–53; R. J. Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History* (London, 1988), 41; F. M. Cross, 'The Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia: The Fragmentary Stele from Nora' in D. M. Golomb (ed.), *Working with No Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1987), 65–74; D. Ridgway, 'The First Western Greeks and their Neighbours', in J.-P. Descoeudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Canberra and Oxford, 1990), 61–72.

<sup>51</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 451.

## Endnote: Eteocypriot Inscriptions

## AMATHUS

Masson, *ICS*, 203–9, nos. 190 (but the personal name is, in fact, acceptable as Greek), 191 (Masson notes, however, '... l'appartenance de l'inscription à la série éteocypriote ... est actuellement indémontrable'), 192–6; *ibid.* 413, nos. 196a, 196e (= O. Masson and A. Hermary, 'Inscriptions d'Amathonte, IV', *BCH* 106 (1982), 235–44). Nos. 196c and 196d are not certainly Eteocypriot. Coin legends on nos. 197 and 198, although having what *may be* an Eteocypriot genitive ending, are intelligible as Greek. O. Masson, 'Une Inscription éteocypriote probablement d'origine d'Amathonte', *Kadmos*, 27 (1988), 126–30, attributes to Amathus an Eteocypriot inscription on a limestone writing tablet. A. Hermary and O. Masson, 'Deux vases inscrits du sanctuaire d'Aphrodite à Amathonte (1865–1987)', *BCH* 114 (1990), 211–14 report an Eteocypriot inscription on the handle of a monumental stone vase which Hermary has dated 'entre le vii<sup>e</sup> et le v<sup>e</sup> siècle' (A. Hermary, *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre: Sculptures* (Paris, 1989), 444–5, no. XVIII.1).

## GOLGOI

Masson, *ICS*, 288, no. 270; 294, no. 291; 297, no. 298 (all incomprehensible, but not necessarily Eteocypriot).

## KAFIZIN

T. B. Mitford, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin* (Berlin and New York, 1980), 44–5, no. 56.

## KITION

Masson, *ICS*, 274, no. 258; 416, no. 258a (neither certainly Eteocypriot).

## KOURION

Masson, *ICS*, 197–8, no. 183 (*LGPN*, s.v. *Λαάνδριος*, however, takes the name as Greek).

## PAPHOS

Masson, *ICS*, 109–10, nos. 13, 14 (neither is certainly Eteocypriot); Mitford and Masson (n. 10), 65, no. 48 (uncertainly Eteocypriot); O. Masson and T. B. Mitford, *Les Inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos* (Constance, 1986) 95–8, nos. 223 (not certainly Eteocypriot), 224, 225.

## ABYDOS (In Egypt)

Masson, *ICS*, 362, no. 388.

## Culture and Society

Whether the legislator is establishing a new state or restoring an old and decayed one, in respect of gods and temples,—the temples which are to be built in each city, and the gods or demi-gods after whom they are to be called,—if he be a man of sense, he will make no change in anything which the oracle of Delphi, or Dodona, or the god Ammon, or any ancient tradition has sanctioned in whatever manner, whether by apparitions or by inspired words from heaven, in obedience to which mankind have established sacrifices in connexion with mystic rites, either originating on the spot, or derived from Tyrrhenia or Cyprus or some other place, and on the strength of which traditions they have consecrated oracles and images, and altars and temples, and portioned out a sacred domain for each of them.

Plato, *Laws* 738b–c (trans. Jowett)

DIFFERENT aspects of Cypriot culture and society during the Cypro-Archaic period may now be surveyed, to the extent that the evidence permits. How were Cypriots organized politically? On what commodities did the island's trade and economy depend? What is known of Cypriot religious and funerary practices? Cypriot relations with the local Phoenicians and the Phoenicians of the Levantine coast are considered later, in Chapter 7, where questions concerning foreign influences on local material culture are also taken up.

## Cypriot Kings and Kingdoms

Near Eastern texts make it clear that kings were ruling in Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>1</sup> A gap then exists in the surviving literary evidence concerning these kingdoms until the late eighth century, when

<sup>1</sup> For the textual and archaeological sources concerning the Cypriot kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age, see C. Baurain, *Chypre et la méditerranée orientale au Bronze Récent* (Paris, 1984). In part, Baurain's study depends on the identification of 'Alashiya' in the texts as 'Cyprus.' For a critical review of that problem, see R. S. Merrillees, *Alashia Revisited* (Paris, 1987). Against Merrillees's criticisms, see O. Masson, 'Un vieux problème: Alasia = Chypre?', *REG* 103 (1990), 231–5.

a stone stele with a cuneiform inscription, found in Cyprus, records that seven Cypriot kings paid tribute to Sargon II of Assyria (Pl. 2).<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to be certain that the number seven is meant to be exact, given its somewhat mystical resonances in ancient Near Eastern literature.<sup>3</sup> But in the seventh century, an inscribed clay prism dating to 673/2 BC during the reign of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon names ten local kingdoms and their rulers (Table 2).<sup>4</sup> The identities of *Nûria* and *Qartihadast* remain uncertain. Amathus has been suggested for the former,<sup>5</sup> and the latter is conventionally taken as Kition.<sup>6</sup>

We cannot tell whether or not this inscription provides a complete or partial list of the local kingdoms.<sup>7</sup> *Lapethos* and *Marion*, for example, are apparently not mentioned, but since they seem to have issued coinage in the Cypro-Archaic period, there is some likelihood that they both had a certain political autonomy.<sup>8</sup> *Golgoi* too seems not to be listed, although its extensive sculptural tradition in limestone suggests it was of some importance at this time.<sup>9</sup>

Since Cyprus apparently did not suffer the political or economic disruptions characteristic of mainland Greece at the end of the second millennium,<sup>10</sup> it seems reasonable to accept, as a hypothesis, that these Cypro-Archaic kingdoms had persisted from the Late Bronze Age. Eleventh- and tenth-century graves occasionally include the regalia suggestive of kingship. Funerary dedications associated with these graves

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 51–6.

<sup>3</sup> A. Snodgrass, *Cyprus and Early Greek History* (Nicosia, 1988), 10.

<sup>4</sup> See further below, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> C. Baurain, 'Un autre nom pour Amathonte de Chypre?', *BCH* 105 (1981), 361–72.

<sup>6</sup> On this notorious problem, see M. Yon, 'Le Royaume de Kition', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 366–7, with bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> Later texts mention different numbers of Cypriot kingdoms; note e.g. D. S. 16. 42. 4; Plin. *HN* 5. 35. 130. For a discussion of the differing numbers of Cypriot kingdoms mentioned by the Roman authors, see O. Masson, 'La Liste des villes de Chypre chez Pline l'Ancien (V, 130)', *RDAC* 1986, 183–6.

<sup>8</sup> On the coinage of Lapethos, see C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coinage* (London, 1976), 303, and below, p. 89. On the earliest-known coinage from Marion, see L. Lacroix, *Études d'archéologie numismatique* (Paris, 1974), 55.

<sup>9</sup> On Golgoi as a kingdom, see Masson, *ICS*, 275–81; O. Masson, 'Kypriaki IX', *BCH* 95 (1971), 310–34; id., 'Chypriotes et phéniciens à Golgoi de Chypre', *Semitica*, 39 (1990), 43–6 (= *Hommages à Maurice Sznycer*, ii). For the ancient textual sources on Golgoi, see *RE* vii, 1579–81.

<sup>10</sup> For a summary of what is known about Cyprus at this time, see e.g. J. N. Coldstream, 'The Geometric and Archaic Periods', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus, 1960–1985* (Nicosia, 1985), 47–59.

indicate a degree of social stratification that is plausible to interpret as a reflection of a continuing monarchical tradition.<sup>11</sup>

Concerning the ways in which the kings ruled and organized their territories in the Cypro-Archaic period, the written sources are almost silent. It may be assumed that, as the first kingdom mentioned in the prism-inscription of Esarhaddon, *Idalion* enjoyed a certain pre-eminence. Fourth-century studies on the political organization of Cyprus are attributed to Aristotle and Theophrastos, but neither study has survived extant.<sup>12</sup> In passing, however, a surviving work of Theophrastos records that the kings superintended the island's forests.<sup>13</sup> Athenaios quotes ancient authors impressed by the luxurious lifestyles of Cypriot kings,<sup>14</sup> and he mentions flatterers (*κόλακες*) who, particularly in Salamis, acted as informants to the palaces.<sup>15</sup> But these images may result from Classical stereotypes of oriental lifestyles, and it seems unwise to retroject this information into earlier times. It is also reported that a ritual armed dance (*πυρρίχη*) took place at royal funerals, with the entire body of warriors participating.<sup>16</sup>

At Moutti Sinoas, north of Amathus,<sup>17</sup> eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions, on fragments of two bronze bowls, mention a governor (*skn*) who is described as the 'servant of Hiram', king of Tyre.<sup>18</sup> The nature of the relationship between the governor of Qartihadast, the king of Tyre, and the local king cannot be elucidated.<sup>19</sup> The possibility cannot be excluded that the local Cypriot king was the governor.

Of the physical nature of the different Cypriot settlements, little can be said. The plans of local sanctuaries and necropoleis are considered

<sup>11</sup> On the archaeological evidence for Cypriot kingdoms during the 11th and 10th cents., and on the social stratification of the time, see Snodgrass (n. 3); J. N. Coldstream, 'Status Symbols in Cyprus in the Eleventh Century BC' in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989), 325–35. But for the argument that, after the end of the Late Bronze Age, the Cypriot kingdoms were not established as political entities until the 8th cent., see the articles by D. W. Rupp listed in the Bibliography.

<sup>12</sup> Harp., s.v. *ἀνακτες* καὶ *ἀνασσαί*; Phot., *Lexicon*, s.v. *τιύρα*.

<sup>13</sup> Thphr. *HP* 5. 8. 1.

<sup>14</sup> e.g. Ath. 6. 255e; 6. 257d–f; 12. 542b–d.

<sup>15</sup> Ath. 6. 255–6b.

<sup>16</sup> Scholia Pi. P. 2. 127; Sch. T. II. 23. 130, and see M. L. West (ed.), *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978), 371–2.

<sup>17</sup> On the equation of Qartihadast with Kition, see above, n. 6.

<sup>18</sup> For a bibliography of these inscriptions, see Yon (n. 17), 364 n. 21. On the provenances of the inscriptions, see O. Masson and M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les phéniciens à Chypre* (Geneva and Paris, 1972), 77–8.

<sup>19</sup> For an attempt at reconstructing the administration of Kition, based largely on Classical sources, see M. Yon, 'Sur l'administration de Kition à l'époque classique', in Peltenburg (n. 11), 363–75; Yon (n. 6), 357–74. On the administration of Paphos in the Classical period, see F. G. Maier, 'Priest Kings in Cyprus', in Peltenburg, 376–91.

below, but there is still not much evidence for other types of architecture.<sup>20</sup> Concerning typically Cypriot construction techniques, almost nothing can be adduced.<sup>21</sup>

### Trading Commodities

As in the Late Bronze Age, Cypriot trading contacts would have extended throughout the entire Mediterranean area, with the export of copper and other raw metals of the island serving as a principal source of revenue.<sup>22</sup> The textual sources of the Cypro-Archaic period mention other goods and commodities for which the island was well-known. Gold, textiles, timber, and decorative woods are attested.<sup>23</sup> There is some possibility also that Cypriots participated in the eastern Mediterranean slave-trade mentioned by the prophets of the Bible.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> In general, houses and city walls are built of rubble with mud-brick superstructures. For examples of Cypro-Archaic settlement-architecture, see endnote to this chapter, pp. 45–6.

<sup>21</sup> There has been little work done on the identification of quarries in use during Cypro-Archaic times, but note e.g. G. Jeffery, 'Rock-Cutting and Tomb Architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman Occupation', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914–15), 159–63; SCE iii, 293; Westholm (n. 20), 125, 127–8. For Kourion, note R. Bullard, 'Environmental Geology', in Soren (n. 20), 53–61. For Amathus, see C. Petit *et al.*, 'Première Campagne d'exploration du royaume', *BCH* 113 (1989), 889–96. On styles of ashlar masonry current in Archaic Cyprus, see I. Sharon, 'Phoenician and Greek Ashlar Construction Techniques at Tel Dor, Israel', *BASOR*, no. 267 (Aug. 1987), 34–5.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 11. 19–28 and *Od.* 1. 184. For a summary of the archaeological evidence for Cypriot trade in metals during the Late Bronze Age, see e.g. J. D. Muhly, 'The Role of Cyprus in the Economy of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Second Millennium BC', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia, 1986), 45–68. See also V. Karageorghis and F. LoSchivo, 'A West Mediterranean Obelos from Amathus', *RSF* 17 (1989), 15–29 (Cypro-Geometric period), and below, p. 60 n. 65 (Cypro-Archaic period). For late literary references concerning the island's reputation for metals and metalwork, note e.g. Ath. 8. 337e; Paus. 9. 19. 1; Plut. *Alex.* 32. 6; *Demetr.* 21. 3; Str. 3. 4. 15; 14. 2. 7; Ov. *Met.* 10. 220, 531 (with reference to Amathus; cf. 10. 644 on the golden apples of Tamassos); Pl. *HN* 34. 19. 81 with 22. 20. 44 for the story of Styppax, a Cypriot bronze sculptor working in Athens, in the time of Perikles. See also the literary references and archaeological evidence discussed in F. L. Koucky and A. Steinberg, 'Ancient Mining and Mineral Dressing on Cyprus', in Stager and Walker (n. 20), 275–327. Note, as well, M. Gras *et al.*, *L'Univers phénicien* (Paris, 1989), 100.

<sup>23</sup> *ARAB* ii, 36, no. 70; 102–3, no. 86 (gold, silver, decorative woods); Ezek. 27: 6–7 (cedar inlaid with ivory; textiles); Ath. 2. 48b; Paus. 8. 5. 3; Plut. *Alex.* 32. 6 (textiles; cf. also Aristoph. fr. 624, Kassel–Austin). For other types of Cypriot wood which had some reputation in antiquity, note Thphr. *HP* 1. 9. 5 (plane trees); 4. 2. 3 (sycamore); 5. 7. 1 (pine). On the Cypriot timber trade in ancient times, see, in general, R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), 397–7; note also J. V. Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests, Land, and People* (Vancouver, 1987), for a general history of the forests of Cyprus; cf. Muhly (n. 22), 45–68.

<sup>24</sup> Ezek. 27: 13–4; Joel 4: 6; cf. Hom. *Od.* 14. 425–9. Note also comments in J. Brinkman, 'The Akkadian Words for "Ionia" and "Ionian"' in R. F. Sutton (ed.), *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder*, *SJ* (Wauconda, Ill., 1989), 56 n. 14 on suggestions that 'Greek' witnesses or vendors may be identified in Akkadian texts documenting slave-sales in the Near East. For later periods, note also Ter. *Ad.* 2. 2. 223–31; Plu. *Mor.* 834c.

It seems a reasonable assumption that commodities which the various Cypriot kingdoms traded and exchanged would have been similar to those attested in later historical periods. Cypriot gemstones seem to have had a certain fame in antiquity.<sup>25</sup> Grain and other foodstuffs were exported.<sup>26</sup> The wreck of a fourth-century merchant vessel off the coast of Kyrenia in the north of Cyprus held a cargo of wine, almonds, and granary mill-stones.<sup>27</sup> It is by no means certain, however, that this cargo was Cypriot, since the circumstances of the shipwreck cannot be determined.

Cyprus, in addition, exported labour primarily in the form of sailors and mercenaries. Cypriot seamanship was well-known in antiquity, and during the late eighth century the naval power of the island may have been unsurpassed.<sup>28</sup> Ostraca from Tell Arad<sup>29</sup> that date to the end of the seventh or the early sixth century<sup>30</sup> have painted inscriptions which detail the rations to be received by the *kittiyim*, foreign mercenaries serving in the Judean army.<sup>31</sup> The term refers, in particular, to inhabit-

<sup>25</sup> On the reputation of Cypriot gemstones in the Classical period and later, see e.g. Ath. 15. 689b; Pl. *HN* 37. 3. 6; Thphr. *De Lap.* 4. 25; 6. 35. For a recent study of the range of Cypriot jewellery attested archaeologically, see R. Laffineur, *Amathonte*, iii. *Testimonia* 3, *l'orfèverie* (Paris, 1986), 89–124.

<sup>26</sup> For corn from Cyprus to Athens, see references in D. M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden, 1977), 129 with n. 133. Cypriot products that were well-known in later times included almonds (Ath. 2. 52c, 54b); figs (Ath. 3. 77f; *AP* 9. 487; *J. AJ* 20. 51); mustard (Ath. 1. 28d); garlic (Thphr. *HP* 7. 4. 11); olives (Hesych., s.v. *βομβόια*); rock salt (particularly from Kition and Salamis; Pl. *HN* 31. 41. 84; 31. 39. 74). Note also Str. 8. 3. 8 (wheat and bread); 14. 6. 5 (wine, oil, grain); Hdt. 2. 94.1, mentioning *σάλλικύπρια* ('castor-oil plant': A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 1–98* (Leiden, 1976), 380 ad loc.); Ath. 15. 688e–f (perfumes). Cypriot cows seem to have had some reputation for their indiscriminate eating habits: Antiphanes, fr. 124 (Kassel–Austin). On the pharmacopoeia of Cyprus in later times, see A. Caubet, 'Archéologie et médecine: L'Exemple de Chypre', *DossArch*, no. 123 (January 1988), 76–81.

<sup>27</sup> M. L. Katzev, 'The Kyrenia Ship', in G. Bass (ed.), *A History of Seafaring* (London, 1972), 50. For a late 5th- or early 4th-cent. BC shipwreck carrying Cypriot pottery and found off the Levantine coast, see *The Ma'agan Michael Shipwreck* (Haifa, n.d.).

<sup>28</sup> Hdt. 7. 90, and note Plin. *HN* 7. 56. 208; cf. also D. S. 2. 16. 6, and, for later times, Amm. Marc. 14. 8. 14; Xen. *Cyrop.* 7. 4. 1–2; 8. 6. 8; Str. 14. 6. 5. For a Hellenistic poem describing the wreck of a cargo ship off the eastern coast of Cyprus, see *AP* 7. 737 (= Theodoridas, poem 13, Gow–Page). On the Cypriot thalassocracy mentioned by Eusebius and its date, see W. G. Forrest, 'Two Chronographic Notes', *CQ* 19 (1969), 95–106; cf. L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* (London and Tonbridge, 1976), 252–3. On Cypriot seamanship and the construction of Cypriot boats, see, in general, L. Basch, *Le Musée imaginaire de la marine antique* (Athens, 1987), 249–62; K. Westerberg, *Cypriot Ships from the Bronze Age to c. 500 BC* (Göteborg, 1983), 19–69.

<sup>29</sup> Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), 12–14, no. 1; 15–16, no. 2; 18, no. 4; 19, no. 5; 22, no. 7; 23, no. 8; 24–5, no. 10; 25, no. 11; 28, no. 14; 32, no. 17. See also M. Heltzer, 'Kition According to the Biblical Prophets and Hebrew Ostraca from Arad', *RDAC* 1988/1, 167–72.

<sup>30</sup> Aharoni (n. 29) 8, 11; for a different view of the stratigraphy, see Y. Yadin, 'A Note on the Stratigraphy of Arad', *IEJ* 15 (1965), 180. See also D. Ussishkin, 'The Date of the Judean Shrine at Arad', *IEJ* 38 (1988), 142–57.

<sup>31</sup> Aharoni (n. 29), 12–13; Y. Aharoni, 'Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Arad', *IEJ* 16 (1966), 1–7; A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques* (Paris, 1977), 159, suggests the *kittiyim* were traders. See also P.-E. Dion, 'Les *Kitym* de Tel Arad: Grecs ou phéniciens?', *RB* 99 (1992), 70–97.

ants of Kition, and, by extension, to Cypriots in general. It is equally possible, however, that, as used in the ostraca, the term is an even more general one, identifying any soldier from the West.<sup>32</sup>

Precisely what the Cypriots received in return for their goods and commodities is difficult to ascertain. The remains of fish-bones from a species indigenous to Egypt or Syria were discovered in an eighth-century tomb at Salamis, and these have prompted the conclusion that this type of fish was imported into Cyprus at that time.<sup>33</sup> The movement of shells into Cyprus from the Red Sea, or possibly from points even further south or east, has also been noted.<sup>34</sup> In addition, the kings of Cyprus themselves clearly received luxury goods from abroad.<sup>35</sup>

### Cypriot Sanctuaries and Votive Offerings

Textual sources referring explicitly to Cypriot ritual in the Archaic period are, for the most part, lacking.<sup>36</sup> Thus the study of Cypriot religion necessarily involves the examination of the finds from the various sanctuaries that have been excavated. A proper understanding of the dedications in the sanctuaries depends, in large measure, upon setting these within their specific architectural contexts. Consequently, the principal types of Cypriot dedications are surveyed here with full reference to the architecture with which the votives were associated.

#### ARCHITECTURE

Because many of the excavated sanctuaries are poorly preserved, the

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Gen. 10: 4; Exod. 24: 24; Is. 2: 31; Jer. 2: 10; Ezek. 27: 6. On the term, see Z. Herzog *et al.*, 'The Israelite Fortress at Arad', *BASOR*, no. 254 (Spring 1984), 31. For other possible epigraphical indications of Cypriots in Arad and southern Egypt, see Y. Garfinkel, 'MLŠ HKRSYM in Phoenician Inscriptions from Cyprus, the QRSY in Arad, HKRSYM in Egypt, and BNY QYRS in the Bible', *JNES* 47 (1988), 27–34; J. Naveh, 'Writing and Scripts in Seventh Century BCE Philistia', *IEJ* 35, (1985) 13–14.

<sup>33</sup> P. J. Greenwood and G. J. Howes, 'Appendix 8: Fish Remains', in V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, iii (Nicosia, 1973–4), 259.

<sup>34</sup> D. S. Reese, 'The Trade of Indo-Pacific Shells into the Mediterranean Basin and Europe', *OJA* 10 (1991), 159–96.

<sup>35</sup> As the 'royal' tombs at Salamis attest: below, p. 44; see also C. Beer, 'Quelques aspects des contacts de Chypre aux viii<sup>e</sup> et vii<sup>e</sup> siècles avant notre ère', *Opus*, 3 (1984), 253–64.

<sup>36</sup> But see Hdt. 1. 199. 5, reporting 'sacred prostitution' in Cyprus, similar to an allegedly Babylonian practice. On the issue of Herodotos' accuracy with regard to Babylon, see J. G. Westenholz, 'Tamar, Qedeša, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia', *HThR* 82 (1989), 245–65; cf. also Ath. 12. 516a–b; Justin, *Epit. Hist.* 18. 5; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 17. On Cypriot ritual, note too Tac. *Hist.* 1. 3 on Paphos; Porph. *Abst.* 2. 54–5 on alleged human sacrifice at Salamis (the old name of which, the author says was Coronis; cf. St. Byz., s.v. *κορώνεια* and *κορώνη*). For Cypriot pigs and their use in divination, see Paus. 6. 2. 5.

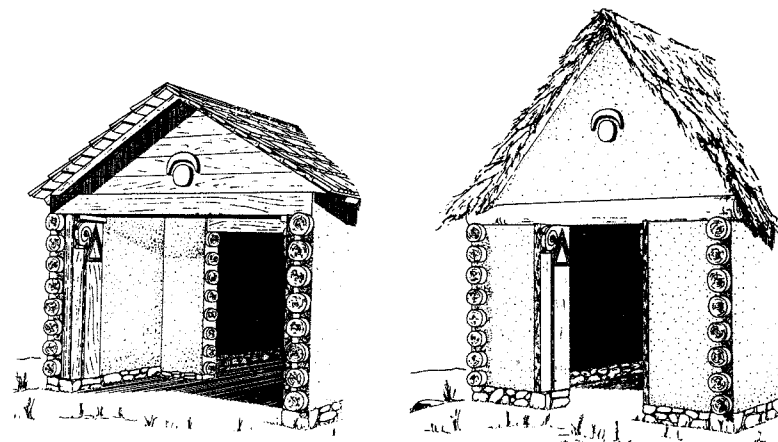


FIG. 4. Hypothetical reconstruction of Cypriot cult-structures, based on the evidence of terracotta models (After P. P. Betancourt, *AJA* 75 (1971), pl. 92, fig. 8)

#### Sanctuaries

evidence of terracotta models that were dedicated and probably intended as representations of temple-buildings is particularly important (Pl. 3; Fig. 4).<sup>37</sup> Cypro-Archaic examples are known from Amathus, Golgoi, Idalion, Kition, and Trikomo.<sup>38</sup> They show that, in general, a Cypriot cult-building comprised a rectangular room with a porch in front and columns *in antis*. Some models, however, simply have a rectangular room with a doorway. Windows were cut into the side walls.

The column capitals are either Aeolic or lotus-shaped. Pilasters with Aeolic capitals might also have served as facings for the antae or door-jambs.<sup>39</sup> Above the doorway, a cornice with a cavetto profile usually appears. The cornice of a terracotta model from Amathus is decorated

<sup>37</sup> There are no known painted representations of Cypriot sacred buildings. On this point, see J. Boardman, 'Iconographica Cypria', *RDAC* 1976, 152–5; M. C. Loulloupis, 'Hunting Scenes on Cypriot Vases of the Geometric Period', in Peltenburg (n. 11), 171–9.

<sup>38</sup> These models are catalogued in A. Caubet, 'Les Maquettes architecturales d'Idalion' in *Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios* (Nicosia, 1979), 94–118. See also J. Boardman, 'ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΟΙΔΟΣ' *RDAC* 1971, 36–42; W. Culican, 'A Terracotta Shrine from Achzib', *ZDPV* 92 (1976), 47–53; V. Karageorghis, 'The Terracottas', in V. Karageorghis *et al.* (eds.), *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, tombes 113–367*, iii (Nicosia, 1987), 25–7; V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1986', *BCH* 111 (1987), 707, 710, fig. 102; id., 'Kypriaka XII' *RDAC* 1990, 108–10; note also D. Bolger and E. Peltenburg, 'The Building Model', in E. Peltenburg, *Lemba Archaeological Project*, ii.2 (Göteborg, 1991), 22–7.

<sup>39</sup> See Fig. 4 and the arguments in P. Betancourt, 'An Aeolic Shrine in Philadelphia', *AJA* 75 (1971), 427–8, pl. 92, fig. 8–9.

with a series of uraei in relief,<sup>40</sup> and another example from the same area is painted with a double row of red triangles.<sup>41</sup> A disc-and-crescent motif often appears above the cornice, usually inverted. The models have flat or slightly curved roofs, the latter perhaps intended to represent pitched or saddle-shaped roofing. The model from Trikomo has a conical roof.

The architectural remains of the actual Cypriot sanctuaries from the period are, with few exceptions, disappointingly uninformative. In their analysis of Cypriot religious architecture, the excavators of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition identified four local variants,<sup>42</sup> and this typology has served as the basis for subsequent analyses.<sup>43</sup> The variants are as follows:

1. a temenos with 'an open court, irregular in shape, enclosed by a peribolos wall, and with an altar' (e.g. Achna, Ayia Irini, Tamassos-Frangissa);
2. a sanctuary consisting of a 'detached chapel, not connected with a temenos court' (e.g. Ayios Jakovos, Vouni);
3. 'a combination of temenos and chapel' (e.g. Idalion, Kition, Voni);
4. a sanctuary consisting of 'one or two courts, usually rectangular and regularly-shaped, a recess, chapel, or temple cella placed in the rear of the innermost court and opening on to it, so that the chapel and the court form an architectural unit' (e.g. Idalion, Meniko, Vouni).<sup>44</sup>

This typology is over-schematic, perhaps, based as it is on few examples, several of which were incompletely excavated. The types differ largely in respect of the presence or absence of a roofed building located within a sanctuary precinct. Scranton has pointed out that this difference 'could readily be explained as due to comparatively inconsequential factors'.<sup>45</sup>

The individual character of a Cypriot sanctuary is well-illustrated by the precinct at Kourion, for which the architectural evidence is most extensive (Fig. 5).<sup>46</sup> The physical nature of the Cypro-Archaic cult-structure here, if any, is uncertain, but there may have been a rectangular

<sup>40</sup> H. B. Walter, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903), 27, no. A149.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, no. A150.

<sup>42</sup> SCE iv.2, 17–23, where all examples are described in full.

<sup>43</sup> P. Dikaio, 'A Conspectus of Architecture in Ancient Cyprus', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 24 (1960), 3–30; K. Nicolaou, *Ancient Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1968).

<sup>44</sup> For a full description of the sanctuary at Meniko, see V. Karageorghis, *Two Cypriote Sanctuaries of the End of the Cypro-Archaic Period* (Rome, 1977), 17–45.

<sup>45</sup> Scranton (n. 20), 65.

<sup>46</sup> On the history of the site, see Soren (n. 20); S. Sinos, *The Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion and the Restoration of its South-West Corner* (Athens, 1990). For the architecture of the Cypro-Archaic period, Scranton (n. 20) remains essential.

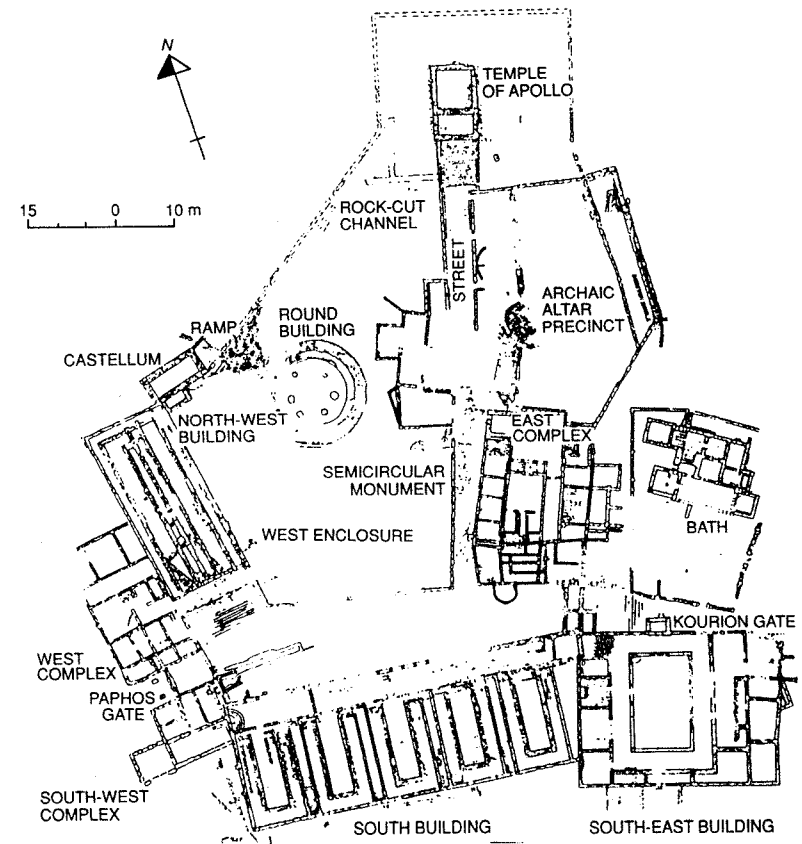


FIG. 5. Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion (After D. Soren, (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates*, 5)

building.<sup>47</sup> As with practically all Cypro-Archaic architecture, reconstruction is not possible. There were other buildings within the vicinity, 'but we cannot be sure what these were, whether they belonged integrally to the sanctuary of their period, or how many others there

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Scranton (n. 20), 65, and Soren (n. 20), 198. The date of the earliest temple building at Kourion is now controversial. Scranton, 21–2, dated the first temple structure to the time of Augustus. But Soren, 198, noted that the fill and wall-foundations of Scranton's first temple contained material only from the later Cypro-Archaic period. The crucial pot fragment is an Attic black-figure sherd from a Type-B amphora, from which Soren concluded that the earliest temple building at Kourion dated to 'at least as late as 570 BC': Soren, 221, 230. See also remarks in E. J. Peltenburg's review of Soren's work in *CR* 38 (1988), 445–6.

may have been'.<sup>48</sup> To the east of the cult-structure was a circular altar, and to the west, a round edifice, which has been interpreted as a 'cult building, perhaps for ring-dancing, planted with sacred trees'.<sup>49</sup> There are rock-cut channels bordering the western sector of the precinct.<sup>50</sup>

From this meagre amount of evidence for Cypriot religious architecture, one may perhaps conclude only that the local sanctuaries combined large open-air spaces for some aspects of worship and small buildings for others. The dimensions of existing structures suggest that they were meant simply to house the cult-figures, rather than to serve as buildings for general public use. What is apparent in Cyprus above all is a tradition of small-scale religious architecture.

#### TERRACOTTA AND CERAMIC VOTIVES

In his commentary on Homer's *Iliad* 11. 20, the scholiast Eustathius (twelfth century AD) recorded the following story:

[Kinyras] had sworn in Paphos to despatch fifty ships to Menelaos, but sent only one. The rest he made out of clay, placing clay-men in them. These he sent, thus evading his oath by paying honour with a terracotta army.<sup>51</sup>

The story suggests the long tradition of terracotta votive sculpture in Cyprus. The manufacture of terracotta models went back to the Bronze Age and earlier, continuing through the Cypro-Geometric period.<sup>52</sup> They were dedicated widely in sanctuaries and probably served as less costly alternatives to limestone votives: Kinyras' insult has more point when it is seen that a proverbially wealthy king<sup>53</sup> sent Menelaos models of inexpensive material, not aid of great value.

<sup>48</sup> Scranton (n. 20), 65.

<sup>49</sup> Soren (n. 20), 37-9; cf. the more cautious comments in Sinos (n. 46), 21.

<sup>50</sup> On the possible uses of these channels, see Sinos (n. 46), 21 and n. 22.

<sup>51</sup> ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν, ἐν Πάφῳ ὁμόσαντα Μενελάῳ πέμψειν πενήτηντα ναῦς, μίαν μόνην ἀποστέλλει, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐκ γῆς πλάσαντα πέμψαι καὶ γηίνους ἄνδρας ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ οὕτω σοφίσασθαι τὸν ὄρκον, ὁστρακίνῳ στόλῳ δεξιωσάμενον. The story is also told in Apollod. *Epit.* 3. 9.

<sup>52</sup> The earliest known terracotta model from Cyprus is dated to the Middle Chalcolithic period (c. 4th millennium BC): E. J. Peltenburg, 'Lemba Archaeological Project, Cyprus, 1987', *Levant*, 21 (1989), 195-7; id., 'The Beginnings of Religion in Cyprus', in Peltenburg (n. 11), 108-26; E. J. Peltenburg *et al.*, 'Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1987: Ritual Deposit, Unit 1015', *RDAC* 1988/1, 43-52. For a head of unfired clay from the Neolithic period (c. 7th millennium), see V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus BC* (London, 1979), 16-17, no. 3. For examples of the different types of Bronze Age and Cypro-Geometric terracotta figurines, see e.g. D. Morris, *The Art of Ancient Cyprus* (Oxford, 1985), 264-90; A. G. Orphanides, *Bronze Age Anthropomorphic Figurines in the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Göteborg, 1983); D. Christou, 'A Cypro-Geometric Tomb from "Latsia" Rizokarpasso', *RDAC* 1972, 143-55; F. Vandenabeele, 'The Terracottas of the Cypro-Geometric Period', in F. Vandenabeele and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Cypriote Terracottas* (Brussels and Liège, 1991), 57-68.

<sup>53</sup> Pi. N. 8. 18; Tyrt. fr. 12. 1-7 (West).

In Cyprus, the large-scale terracotta votives range from a third to over life-size. No other area of the Levant can boast such a tradition of monumental terracotta sculpture. No other area in the Near East, Egypt, or Greece can claim as varied and as widespread a terracotta industry in the Iron Age. A comparable range of three-dimensional private statuary of any sort in the shrines of adjacent countries is, in fact, rare in the Iron Age. Turkey, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Jordan show virtually no sign of it. In Assyria, three-dimensional sculpture is also rare, and, where it appears, royal.<sup>54</sup> As a truly indigenous art form, therefore, Cypriot terracotta work is subject more to local inspiration than to outside influences. In the second half of the sixth century, however, Hellenic influence becomes evident.<sup>55</sup>

The earlier Cypriot terracottas, in which the individual features of clothing and facial expression are distinctive to the island, Gjerstad described as 'Proto-Cypriot' and 'Neo-Cypriot'.<sup>56</sup> The distinctions he drew between the two are difficult to understand, based as they are on his belief in different sculptural details reflecting the comparative ascendancy of a Greek, 'Eteocypriot', or Egyptian ethos within the local population.<sup>57</sup> In the absence of a detailed, modern commentary on the whole range of terracotta sculpture from Cyprus, it seems best to avoid Gjerstad's terminology altogether and simply note the gross distinction between the earlier terracotta sculptures that do not betray Hellenic influence and the later ones that do, beginning from around the middle of the sixth century.<sup>58</sup>

Further chronological precision is difficult to attain. Various chronological schemes have been suggested over the years (Table 3). But when so much disagreement persists, it seems best to draw no conclusions for the moment, particularly when the available fixed points, mainly from the results of the German excavations at Samos, remain few.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See, in general, E. Strommenger, *Die neuassyrische Rundskulptur* (Bonn, 1970).

<sup>55</sup> See further below, p. 65.

<sup>56</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 94-129.

<sup>57</sup> Above, pp. 4, 13.

<sup>58</sup> Gjerstad's 'Neo-Cypriot' style seems largely a transitional phase between these two groups. His 'Cypro-Egyptian' style is now seen to have been misleading as a classification: C. C. Vermeule, 'Cypriote Sculpture, the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods: Towards a More Precise Understanding', *AJA* 78 (1974), 287-90. See also P. Gaubert-Saletan, *Regional Styles in Cypriote Sculpture: The Sculpture from Idalion* (New York and London, 1986), 57-62. Note too S. Casson, 'Professor Gjerstad on Cyprus', *JHS* 59 (1939), 287, suggesting that Gjerstad's dates for Cypriot sculpture 'must be radically scaled down'.

<sup>59</sup> On the chronological implications of the excavations in Samos for Cypriot sculpture, see G. Schmidt, *Samos*, vii (Bonn, 1968), 63-8, with refinements in B. Lewy, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (Dortmund, 1975), 84-92. For criticisms of Schmidt's work, see the important



The vast majority of the terracotta figurines are small figurines of either animals or human figures, both male and female.<sup>60</sup> The male figures generally wear long robes and tall head-dresses, and appear in a variety of stances suggesting cultic functions or votive status (Pl. 4); the female figures, dressed in long robes, probably represent worshippers as well, rather than deities (Pl. 5). Scenes of daily life showing the baking of bread, bathing, or banqueting<sup>61</sup> are also attested, and groups representing chariots, horses and riders, and smiting warriors are well-known. Models of shrines have already been mentioned. Recognizably mythological figures appear infrequently.<sup>62</sup>

Without the full publication of important finds from various Cypro-Archaic sites, it is unwise to define particular dedicatory patterns closely. At the sanctuary in Ayia Irini, the terracottas were arranged in a semi-circle, around an altar (?) set within an open space. Alongside the figurines were painted ceramic jars and vessels that presumably contained food and ointments offered to the local deities.<sup>63</sup> At the sanctuary of

reviews of J. M. Hemelrijk in *BABesch* 45 (1970), 210–11, and H.-G. Buchholz in *BJ* 171 (1971), 693–6 (which refers to much of the older and more obscure literature on Cypriot sculpture). The results of the excavations at the temple of Eschmun at Sidon may suggest that the chronology proposed in Schmidt's work needs to be lowered somewhat: see L. Ganzmann et al., 'Das Eschmunheiligtum von Sidon', *IstMitt* 37 (1987), 81–130, esp. 128. For Cypriot sculpture from Samos found in close association with Corinthian pottery, see H. Kyrieleis, 'New Cypriot Finds from the Heraion of Samos', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London, 1989), 52–67. Note also H. Kyrieleis, 'The Relations between Samos and the Eastern Mediterranean: Some Aspects', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean* (Larnaca, 1991), 129–32.

<sup>60</sup> For the different Cypro-Archaic types, see e.g. *SCE* iv.2, 94–5; 97–9; 105–7; J. H. Young and S. H. Young, *The Terracotta Figurines from Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1955); S. Törnkvis, 'Arms, Armour, and Dress of the Terracotta Sculpture from Ajia Irini, Cyprus', *BMNE* 6 (1972), 7–55; T. Monloup, *Salamine de Chypre*, xii (Paris, 1984); Karageorghis, 'Terracottas' (n. 38), 1–46; M. Yon and A. Caubet, 'Ateliers de figurines à Kition', in Tatton-Brown (n. 59), 28–43; V. Karageorghis, 'A propos de Kitiens portant la tiare', *Semitica*, 39 (1990), 1–6 (= *Hommages à Maurice Szymer*, ii).

<sup>61</sup> On daily life as represented by Cypriot terracottas, see J. Karageorghis, 'La Vie quotidienne à Chypre d'après les terres cuites d'époque géométrique et archaïque', in Vandenaebée and Laffineur (n. 52), 149–69. On terracotta banqueting figurines from Cyprus, see, in particular, J.-M. Dentzer, *Le Motif du banquet couché dans le proche-orient et le monde grec du vi<sup>e</sup> au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome, 1982), 42–9.

<sup>62</sup> Note e.g. V. Tatton-Brown, 'A Terracotta "Geryon" in the British Museum', *RDAC* 1979, 281–8; V. Karageorghis, 'A New "Geryon" Terracotta Statuette from Cyprus', *El* 20 (1989), 92–7; on so-called 'Humbaba' masks from Cyprus, see V. Karageorghis, 'Some Eleventh-Century BC Clay Masks from Kition', in J. H. Betts et al., *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, ii (Bristol, 1988), 65–7, and V. Karageorghis, 'Notes on Some Terracotta Masks from Amathus Now in the British Museum', *RSF* 18 (1990), 3–15, with bibliography; on 'Astarte-type' figures, see S. Böhm, *Die 'nackte Göttin'* (Mainz, 1990), 107–17; R. M. Ammerman, 'The Naked Standing Goddess: A Group of Archaic Terracotta Figurines from Paestum', *AJA* 95 (1991), 203–30.

<sup>63</sup> *SCE* ii, 797–810. For examples of vase inscriptions from Cyprus that seem to identify the contents of vessels dedicated in local sanctuaries, see A. Hermay and O. Masson, 'Deux vases inscrits du sanctuaire d'Aphrodite à Amathonte (1865–1987)', *BCH* 114 (1990), 207–107.

Apollo at Kourion, animal figurines tended to predominate in the first half of the Cypro-Archaic period, human figurines, horsemen, and chariots in the latter half.<sup>64</sup>

The terracotta figurines are wheel-made, hand-made, moulded, or manufactured using a combination of these methods.<sup>65</sup> It has been thought that the mould was introduced into Cyprus from Syria during the eighth century, and that the island may then have transmitted this technique of manufacture to Greece soon after 700 BC.<sup>66</sup> But the earliest evidence for the use of the mould in Cyprus appears to come from the sanctuary at Ayia Irini, where Gjerstad discovered mould-made terracottas from archaeological contexts of around 650 BC.<sup>67</sup> In Samos, the earliest Cypriot mould-made figurines were contemporary with the building of the second Hekatompedos and the South Stoa, both dated 'um die Mitte der 7. Jh.'<sup>68</sup> Indeed, it may well be that Cypriots adopted the mould around the middle of the seventh century, because of an increased demand in East Greece for their terracottas; prior to that time, there are only a few hand-made Cypriot figurines known from there.<sup>69</sup> If that is correct, then the Greeks themselves may have adopted the use of the mould for the manufacture of terracottas directly from their own Levantine contacts around 700 BC.<sup>70</sup>

#### LIMESTONE VOTIVES

It was only with the publication of *SCE* iv.2 in 1948 that a reasonably satisfactory relative chronology for the limestone votive figures was

<sup>64</sup> Young and Young (n. 60), 58–9; D. M. Buitron, 'Hellenic Trends at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, Kourion', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident* (n. 22), 390.

<sup>65</sup> For an analysis of the different methods of manufacture, see Monloup (n. 60), 8–10; F. Vandenaebée, 'Has Phoenician Influence Modified Cypriot Terracotta Production?', in Peltenburg (n. 11), 266–71; Yon and Caubet (n. 60), 28–43.

<sup>66</sup> Note e.g. Tatton-Brown (n. 52), 87; Ammerman (n. 62), 221–6; P. J. Riis, 'The Syrian Astarte Plaques and their Western Connection', *Berytus*, 9 (1948–9), 84–5. Monloup (n. 60), 10, seems to imply a date at the beginning of the Iron Age for the introduction of the mould into Cyprus, but she does not present her reasoning.

<sup>67</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 95. Riis (n. 66), 84 took *SCE* i, 366 and 370, on the finds from Ayios Jakovos, as showing that the moulded terracottas from the site (Gjerstad's Type 3) dated to the 8th cent. But since these terracotta figurines were apparently found in the fill between floor 3 (Cypro-Classical II period) and floor 2 (end of the Cypro-Geometric III period), they cannot be dated with any certainty. See also V. Karageorghis, 'The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus: An Introduction', in Vandenaebée and Laffineur (n. 52), 14.

<sup>68</sup> Schmidt (n. 59), 9; for the chronology of the structures, see H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos* (Athens, 1981), 79, 95.

<sup>69</sup> Schmidt (n. 59), 5.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967), 25.

established. Prior to 1948, Myres had attempted a rough stylistic analysis based on the material from the Cesnola Collection in New York.<sup>71</sup> A. W. Lawrence subsequently disputed this analysis, but he was particularly concerned to show that Cyprus could not have been more advanced than Greece in the production of monumental stone sculpture.<sup>72</sup> Müller further elaborated on Lawrence's criticisms in 1929,<sup>73</sup> and Pryce's study of the Cypriot sculptures in the British Museum in 1931 substantially refined the typological system developed by Myres.<sup>74</sup>

After 1948, the German excavators at Samos brought to light difficulties in the absolute chronology which Gjerstad proposed for the stylistic development of Cypriot sculpture.<sup>75</sup> Budde and Nicholls made important observations in their commentary on the Cypriot sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in 1964.<sup>76</sup> Vermeule and Lewy subsequently proposed substantial modifications to Gjerstad's stylistic and chronological groups,<sup>77</sup> and Hermary's publication of the Cypriot sculpture in the Louvre Museum has added significantly to the amount of information now available.<sup>78</sup>

Pending the publication of a much-needed analysis of Cypriot limestone sculpture, however, a brief survey of the material must accept that, on present evidence, these objects can be dated in only the most general way. One may note, however, the general liking, in the second half of the sixth century, for stone sculptures which, like the terracotta figurines,<sup>79</sup> display Hellenic influence.

The production of large-scale limestone sculptures requires a convenient source of stone. In Cyprus, the Mesaorea Plain provides this source.<sup>80</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that sites along the plain have produced a quantity of limestone work, with the earliest datable figures known from late seventh-century Arsos.<sup>81</sup> From the Mesaorea, the

<sup>71</sup> J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities in Cyprus* (New York, 1914), 132–9.

<sup>72</sup> A. W. Lawrence, 'The Primitive Sculpture of Cyprus', *JHS* 46 (1926), 163–70.

<sup>73</sup> V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* (Augsburg, 1929), 162–4.

<sup>74</sup> F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1931).

<sup>75</sup> Above, pp. 33–4, and n. 59, for criticisms of the 'Samian' chronology for Cypriot sculpture. Note also G. Kaulen, *Daidalika* (Munich, 1967), 174–89.

<sup>76</sup> L. Budde and R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1964), 8–9.

<sup>77</sup> Above, pp. 33–4 with nn. 58 and 59.

<sup>78</sup> A. Hermary, *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre: Sculptures* (Paris, 1989).

<sup>79</sup> Above, p. 33.

<sup>80</sup> J. B. Connolly, *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1988), 2–3; G. Markoe, 'A Bearded Head with Conical Cap from Lefkoniko: An Examination of a Cypro-Achaic Votary', *RDAC* 1987, 124.

<sup>81</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 96–7.

practice of dedicating limestone figures seems to have spread to other areas which would either have imported actual finished products or else the stone itself. At Amathus, Salamis, and Kition, local sculptural sequences had started by the early sixth century.<sup>82</sup> Amathus, in addition, began to exploit a local source of hardstone for its votive sculpture.<sup>83</sup>

Partly because of the sculptural importance of the area, perhaps, the Mesaorea acquired a certain cosmopolitan character. This character may be gauged by the different costumes represented among the limestone votives. At Golgoi, for example, Cesnola noted that different 'nationalities' were represented in particular sectors of the sanctuary,<sup>84</sup> and subsequent analysis by Vermeule has suggested the reliability of this observation.<sup>85</sup>

Cypriot limestone sculptures usually represent figures in votive or cultic stances, dressed in a variety of costumes (Pls. 6–9).<sup>86</sup> Male figures often appear dressed in long robes, wearing conical helmets and with an arm held to the chest, either empty or with an offering. Some wear diadems with carved rosettes, short-sleeved shirts, and Egyptian-style kilts, or else attire somewhat like loin-cloths. Female figures hold the same stances and sometimes carry offerings of flowers. They wear long robes and elaborate jewellery: rings, bracelets, earrings, and necklaces, sometimes with scarabs in swivel settings hanging as pendants.<sup>87</sup> Recognizably mythological figures are also depicted in limestone during the Cypro-Achaic period.<sup>88</sup> Other sculptures represent animals, and lions are particularly popular.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>82</sup> For the sculptural sequences from Amathus, see A. Hermary, *Amathonte*, ii (Paris, 1981), 15, 33; id., 'Divinités chypriotes, II', *RDAC* 1986, 164–72; for Salamis, M. Yon, *Salamine de Chypre*, v (Paris, 1974); for Kition, *SCE* iv.2, 93, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Hermary, *Amathonte* (n. 82), 10.

<sup>84</sup> L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus* (London, 1877), 121.

<sup>85</sup> Vermeule (n. 58), 286; Connolly (n. 80), 78. For examples of the limestone sculptures from Golgoi, see J. Doell, *Die Sammlung Cesnola* (St Petersburg, 1873); V. Tatton-Brown, 'Sculptors at Golgoi' *RDAC* 1984, 169–73; Hermary (n. 78), 492–3.

<sup>86</sup> On the different varieties of Cypriot limestone votive figures, see e.g. Pryce (n. 74), 11–137; Yon (n. 82), 13–94; Hermary (n. 78), 22–294; 321–87.

<sup>87</sup> For studies of the jewellery appearing on the female limestone figures, see J. M. Hemelrijk, 'Some Ear Ornaments in Archaic Cypriot and East Greek Art', *BABesch* 38 (1963), 28–51; E. Lagarde, 'Remarques sur l'utilisation des scarabées, scaraboides, amulettes, et figurines de type égyptien à Chypre', in G. Clerc et al., *Fouilles de Kition*, ii (Nicosia, 1976), 167–82; W. Culican, *The First Merchant Venturers* (London, 1966), 96, 103.

<sup>88</sup> See e.g. Hermary (n. 78), 294–8 (Bes); 299–304 (Herakles); 394–5 (naked Astarte?); 466–7 (composite creatures); for Cypro-Achaic sculptures that potentially represent goddesses, see also 398–401 ('déesse au calathos végétal'); 419–28 ('kouroutrophes').

<sup>89</sup> See e.g. Hermary (n. 78), 53–64; M. Yon, 'Les Lions archaïques', in L'Institut F. Courby, *Salamine de Chypre*, iv (Paris, 1973), 19–47; V. Karageorghis, 'A Stone Statuette of a Sphinx and a Note on Small Limestone Thymiateria from Cyprus', *RDAC* 1988/2, 89–93.

Traces of paint in red, yellow, green, and other colours occasionally remain on the limestone.<sup>90</sup>

The sculptures range in size from a third to just over life-size. The development of monumentality in Cypriot stone sculpture presents a long-standing problem, the threads of which cannot at present be fully disentangled.<sup>91</sup> Examples are known from Arsos in the second half of the seventh century; these probably postdate the monumental terracotta figures.<sup>92</sup> Gjerstad thought that close contacts between Cyprus and Egypt inspired monumentality in both the terracotta and limestone work of the island.<sup>93</sup> Markoe suggested that Ionian influence promoted monumentality.<sup>94</sup> The chronological priority of Ionian monumental stone sculpture cannot, however, be established, and although it is plausible to imagine that Cypriots were encouraged to dedicate large stone votives as a result of their exposure to local Egyptian custom, it is important to remember that the notion of monumentality was already inherent in Cypriot culture, not only in terracotta sculpture, which was an indigenous art-form, but also in eighth-century architecture, as the 'royal' tombs at Salamis attest.

The heads of the limestone figures are modelled in the round, but their bodies are sculpted only in front; the back is generally left flat. Around the middle of the sixth century, the sculptures, presumably under Greek influence, more fully approximate sculpture in the round.<sup>95</sup> Some have argued that this initial emphasis on frontality derived from a local tradition of relief sculpture or from the imitation of terracotta figures produced with one-piece moulds.<sup>96</sup> Others have thought that the quality of the limestone necessitated the somewhat flat appearance of the sculpture.<sup>97</sup>

The former theory is unlikely. Relief sculpture seems not to have interested Cypriot artists much, and few examples are known from Cyprus prior to the late sixth or early fifth century.<sup>98</sup> The latter

<sup>90</sup> See e.g. Yon (n. 82), 13; cf. A. Hermary, 'Un Nouveau Chapiteau hathorique trouvé à Amathonte', *BCH* 109 (1985), 657–665.

<sup>91</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 355–6.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 95–7.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 355–6.

<sup>94</sup> Markoe (n. 80), 122 n. 28; see also the review of *SCE* iv.2 by E. Will in *Gnomon* 24 (1952), 35–6; A. Hermary, 'Les Débuts de la grande plastique chypriote en terre cuite', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur (n. 52), 139–47.

<sup>95</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 112; Yon (n. 82), 45.

<sup>96</sup> M. Borda, 'Aspetti della scultura arcaica cipriota', *RPAA* 22 (1946–7), 87–154; cf. Lewe (n. 59), 32.

<sup>97</sup> Myres (n. 71), 130; Pryce, (n. 74) 4; Yon (n. 82), 11–13.

<sup>98</sup> For Cypro-Archaic examples, see e.g. Pryce (n. 74), 137; Hermary (n. 78), 67–9, no. 71–2; cf. Borda (n. 96), 122; Tatton-Brown (n. 85), 169–73.

explanation seems equally improbable, since the heads of early Cypriot limestone sculptures are successfully carved in the round.

A functional explanation is, in fact, most likely. The excavations at Tamassos have shown that small votive sculptures were plastered into the stucco of the interior temple walls.<sup>99</sup> The flat back of a sculptural figure simply made it easier to stand a series of dedications in a row along the walls.

The Cypriots also developed a particular type of votive capital for their sanctuaries (Pl. 10).<sup>100</sup> This capital is allied with stone capitals from Syria and Palestine in having volutes that spring from a central triangle.<sup>101</sup> But certain features added to the volutes are distinctively Cypriot. Of the two varieties of capital, the simpler one crowns the volutes with a three-stepped abacus; the more complex has a second set of volutes springing above the lower set, with the three-stepped abacus crowning the whole. Egyptianizing or Greek motifs may be carved in between the second set of volutes. Excavated contexts available for these two varieties suggest that these capitals were in use as dedications in sanctuaries and necropoleis by the sixth century.<sup>102</sup> The style of the Greek figures carved on examples of the complex variety dates these to the early fifth century.

#### METAL DEDICATIONS AND JEWELLERY

Less well-known than either the terracotta or the limestone votive dedications are the Cypriot bronze votives. Bronze vessels were dedicated in quantity in both sanctuaries and cemeteries during the Cypro-Archaic period. The greater part are known from sanctuaries, a reversal of the pattern which, on current evidence, persisted during the Cypro-Geometric period.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Connelly (n. 80), 4; ead., 'Standing Before One's God: Votive Art and the Cypriot Religious Traditions', *Biblical Archaeologist*, 52 (1989), 210–18; ead., 'Continuity and Change: The Cypriot Votive Tradition and the Hellenistic Koine', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur (n. 52), 95.

<sup>100</sup> See Y. Shiloh, *Qedem XI: The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry* (Jerusalem, 1979), 36–9, for a list of examples. See also Hermary (n. 78), 470–2; O. Masson and A. Hermary, 'Les Fouilles d'Ohnefalsch-Richter à Idalion en 1894', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 10 (1988), 8–14.

<sup>101</sup> On this type of Near Eastern capital, see P. P. Betancourt, *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 27–49; 142–4.

<sup>102</sup> For examples of excavated contexts for the simpler variety of Cypriot capital, see V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, ii (London, 1970), 44–6 (Tomb 21, nos. A and B, late Cypro-Archaic period); F. G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos* (Nicosia, 1984), 190–1, fig. 177 (from the Persian siege ramp, with *terminus ante quem* of 498 BC). On the way in which these capitals were used, see Hermary (n. 78), 470.

<sup>103</sup> H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern* (Munich, 1985), 57.

Bronze votive statuettes of the Cypro-Archaic period, all manufactured by the lost-wax casting technique, are attested in Ayia Irini, Famagusta, Idalion, the Karpass, Kition, Larnaca-Ayios Georghios, Lefkoniko, Limniti, Nicosia, and Tamassos (Pl. 11).<sup>104</sup> As with the limestone votive statues, their production depends upon ready access to raw materials. It is therefore not surprising that a number of the provenanced examples are from the central regions of the island (Idalion, Lefkoniko, Tamassos), where copper production was an important industry.<sup>105</sup>

The excavations of R. H. Lang in 1868 at the sanctuary of Apollo in Idalion brought to light thirteen statuettes, the largest number known from a single site. Lang recorded that these statuettes were set into marble bases and positioned in an open courtyard among larger stone and terracotta votives.<sup>106</sup> Iconographically, they resemble these larger figures in their costumes and stances.

Jewellery could also be dedicated in local sanctuaries. At the sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite in Amathus, according to Pausanias, there was preserved a necklace of green stones strung with gold. It was said to have been the one with which Eriphyle was bribed to persuade her husband, the Argive hero Amphiareos, to join the ill-fated expedition of the Seven against Thebes.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, scarabs and scaraboids made of hard stones or serpentines could be dedicated at local sanctuaries (Fig. 6). The hard-stone seals are often found with settings of precious metal.<sup>108</sup>

### Cypriot Tombs and Burial Customs

Just as the dedications in Cypriot sanctuaries were considered in relation to their architectural setting, Cypriot funerary practices and the principal types of dedications are surveyed together with what is known about local tomb-architecture.

<sup>104</sup> See A. T. Reyes, 'The Anthropomorphic Bronze Statuettes of Archaic Idalion, Cyprus', *BSA* 87 (1992), 243–57, for a list of examples from each area.

<sup>105</sup> The importance of the copper industry around Tamassos has long been recognized: above, n. 22, and see A. H. Sayce, *Reminiscences* (London, 1923), 183; H.-G. Buchholz, 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1977 bis 1986', *AA* 1987, 171–82. For a Cypro-Archaic mining site at Ayia Varvara-Almyras near Tamassos, see W. Fasnacht *et al.*, 'Excavations at Ayia Varvara-Almyras', *RDAC* 1989, 59–76; *eid.*, 'Excavations at Ayia Varvara-Almyras: Second Preliminary Report', *RDAC* 1990, 127–39; *eid.*, 'Excavations at Ayia Varvara-Almyras: Third Preliminary Report', *RDAC* 1991, 97–108. For Idalion, see also Stager and Walker (n. 20), 275–351. Note also Hom. *Od.* 1. 184 on Tamassos, with commentary *ad loc.* in A. Heubeck *et al.*, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, i (Oxford, 1988), 100.

<sup>106</sup> R. H. Lang, *Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalium) in Cyprus* (London, n. d.), 13 (= repr. of *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 11 (1878), 30–71).

<sup>107</sup> Paus. 9. 41. 2–5.

<sup>108</sup> e.g. D. Buitron, 'The Archaic Precinct at Kourion: 1981 Excavations', *RDAC* 1982, 144–7; Lagarde (n. 87), 169, fig. 7. For the scarabs and scaraboids from Ayia Irini, see *SCE* ii, 797, pl. 243–52.

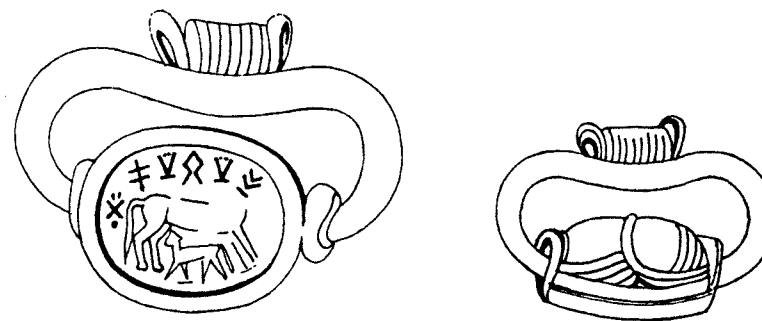


FIG. 6. Device of scarab said to be of chalcedony, precise provenance unknown, reported as Kourion in D. Pierides, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 5.1 (1876), 92, no. 7 (shown in original): cow suckling a calf; linear border; Cypro-syllabic inscription reading 'Kupragoras'. L. c.0.015 m. (Once Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung 6682. After Masson, *ICS* 346–7, no. 357)

### ARCHITECTURE

In essence, there are two principal types of built tombs, both certainly established in the island by the Cypro-Geometric period.<sup>109</sup> The first is the pit-tomb, which is simply sunk into the rock. Early examples are known from Lapethos and Kourion (Fig. 7).<sup>110</sup> The second is the rock-cut tomb, usually with a long, narrow stomion and dromos that descends with or without steps; rubble side walls; and a roughly rectangular chamber, sometimes with smaller ones toward the back or at the sides. The origins of the rock-cut tomb are generally seen to lie within the Mycenaean tradition, possibly derived from Rhodes in particular.<sup>111</sup> The suggestion is not unreasonable, but as a cautionary note, it may be observed that similar rock-cut chamber tombs are known from the Phoenician coast and Palestine.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> For a more comprehensive typology than what follows, see A. Westholm, 'Built Tombs in Cyprus', *OpArch* 2 (1941), 29–58; *SCE* iv.2, 29–42; Dikaïos (n. 43), 21–3; Nicolaou (n. 43), 5–6.

<sup>110</sup> When *SCE* iv.2 appeared in 1948, Westholm, the architect of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, knew of no examples of Cypro-Archaic pit-tombs, but inferred their existence from examples in the Cypro-Classical period (*SCE* iv.2, 33). The gap is now filled at Ktima, near Paphos: J. Deshayes, *La Néropole de Ktima* (Paris, 1963), 238.

<sup>111</sup> Westholm (n. 109), 52; J. L. Benson, *The Necropolis of Kaloriziki* (Göteborg, 1973), 18; V. Karageorghis, *Alt-Paphos*, iii (Constance, 1983), 2.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. N. Jidejian, *Tyre through the Ages* (Beirut, 1969), 5–6, fig. 9 (Achaemenid period); G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine* (Leiden, 1985), 324–9 (Bronze Age). Note also N. Jidejian, *Sidon through the Ages* (Beirut, 1971), 119, and S. F. Bondi, 'City Planning and Architecture', in S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (Milan, 1988), 248–58, on Phoenician tomb architecture.

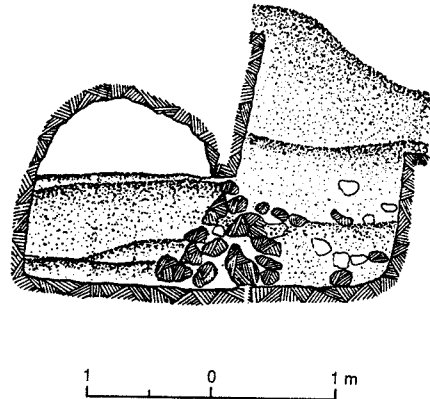


FIG. 7. Vertical section of a Cypro-Geometric pit-tomb (no. 603) at Lapethos (After SCE i, 270, fig. 105, no. 8)

At Amathus, the Cypro-Geometric tombs have short, narrow shafts that slope down to the entranceway. The door of a tomb may be partly constructed with two stone blocks used as door-jambs and a covering stone slab used as a lintel. The short sides of the chambers may be revetted with cut masonry.<sup>113</sup>

In some sense, then, these are the forerunners of the series of Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical tombs built with fine ashlar masonry (Pl. 12), the most famous of which are the monumental 'royal' tombs at Salamis (Pl. 13). The dromoi of these tombs were over thirteen metres wide, presumably to allow ready access to chariots carrying funerary biers, and some structures were over twenty metres long. Aside from those at Amathus and Salamis, other tombs built with fine ashlar masonry include examples from Idalion, Kition, Pyla (Larnaca area), Tamassos, Trachonas (Karpas area), and Xylotyngo (Larnaca area).<sup>114</sup> The unusually wide dromoi of an early Cypro-Archaic warrior's tomb near Kouklia-Palaepaphos, and the discovery of chariot equipment and

<sup>113</sup> e.g. Dikaïos (n. 43), 21; Westholm, (n. 109) 31, 52 (Type 1).

<sup>114</sup> To the bibliography and examples in Westholm (n. 109), 29–58, add V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1980', *BCH* 105 (1981), 1013–16, fig. 98–104; A. Hermay, in Karageorghis *et al.* (n. 60), 58–71 (Amathus); H.-G. Buchholz, 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1970–1972', *AA* 88 (1973), 295–300; 322–38; id., 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1973', *AA* 89 (1974), 578–98 (Tamassos); id., 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1974–76', *AA* 1978, 155–230; V. Karageorghis, 'Excavations in the Necropolis of Idalion, 1963', *RDAC* 1964, 28–49 (Idalion). For Salamis, see, in general, V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, i–iv (Nicosia and London, 1967–78).

the skeletons of horses in association with it, suggested that here also was the tomb of a member of the upper classes.<sup>115</sup>

Of building techniques, little can be said. At Tamassos, the blocks were of standard sizes and had joints filled with plaster; stone was used to imitate the timbers that would have supported the roof. The 'different slabs and/or blocks were extensively prefabricated before assembly', and 'the burial's coffin should have been installed during the construction of the tomb and not after its completion, since it is wider than the doors'.<sup>116</sup> The roofs of the built tombs were flat, pitched, or saddle-shaped, using corbelled blocks. Some were 'vaulted' by leaning long, curved blocks against each other (e.g. at Trachonas) or else by hollowing out the bottom of the slabs extending over the width of the tomb (e.g., at Ayia Phaneromeni, Kition area).<sup>117</sup>

There was occasional use of architectural decoration. On either side of two tombs at Tamassos were pilasters topped by Aeolic capitals.<sup>118</sup> A cavetto cornice often appeared above the doorway.<sup>119</sup> A lotus-and-palmette chain was carved above the doorway of the sarcophagus-chamber of Tamassos Royal Tomb 5, as well as in the false windows above both doors of the inner chamber.<sup>120</sup> Relief plaques were occasionally positioned on either side of the entrance or above the door.

The use of such relief plaques in these positions is distinctive to the island, although the subjects of the reliefs are not necessarily indigenous. Three relief carvings from a late sixth- or early fifth-century tomb at Pyla are late Archaic or Classical Greek in style (Pl. 14). The plaque on either side of the doorway shows a striding sphinx; above the door, another plaque shows a Gorgon's head.<sup>121</sup> At Trachonas, a relief plaque

<sup>115</sup> V. Karageorghis, 'Une tombe de guerrier à Palaepaphos', *BCH* 87 (1963), 265–300. D. G. Hogarth, 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1887–88: I. The First Season's Work. Preliminary Narrative', *JHS* 9 (1888), 160, reports elegant built-tombs at the Xylinos necropolis at Kouklia, but implies that these need not be earlier than the 2nd cent. BC; cf. Maier and Karageorghis (n. 20), 171. For other warrior-tombs in Cyprus, note Buchholz, 'Tamassos ... 1972' (n. 114), 330–7; id., 'Tamassos ... 1976' (n. 114), 191–5; V. Karageorghis, 'Nouvelles tombes de guerriers à Palaepaphos', *BCH* 91 (1967), 202–47. Note also, perhaps, Karageorghis (n. 114), 1018, on Tomb 306 (Amathus).

<sup>116</sup> C. M. Musso, 'Preservation Works Carried Out on Royal Tomb V', in Buchholz, 'Tamassos ... 1973' (n. 114), 592 n. 98.

<sup>117</sup> SCE iv.2, 39.

<sup>118</sup> For a full description, Buchholz, 'Tamassos ... 1973' (n. 114), 578–98.

<sup>119</sup> Examples noted in D. Ussishkin, 'Observations on the Architecture of the "Royal" Tombs in Salamis', *PEQ* 103 (1971), 95; 97.

<sup>120</sup> Buchholz, 'Tamassos ... 1973' (n. 114), 584.

<sup>121</sup> Nicolaou (n. 43), 20–1, pl. 15; P. Dikaïos, 'Built Tomb Near Pyla', *RDAC* 1934 (1935), 9–11, pl. 3, no. 3.

above the stomion shows two steatopygous male figures facing each other, apparently engaged in a ritual dance (Pl. 15).<sup>122</sup> They may owe something in appearance to Greek komasts,<sup>123</sup> but it is just possible, given the seventh-century dating of the pottery within the tomb, that the Greek komasts derive, in some sense, from them.

#### FUNERARY DEDICATIONS

In the sixth century, and perhaps in the late seventh century as well, Cypriots, particularly around the area of Golgoi, would dedicate limestone grave-stones to the memory of the deceased (Pl. 16). These mainly took the form of stelai, sometimes with cavetto capitals and sun discs or inverted discs and crescents carved in relief at the head of the shaft. Antithetical seated or recumbent lions, carved in the round, often appear surmounting these stelai.<sup>124</sup>

Ceramic and metal vessels containing food and ointments are commonly found inside the tombs as funerary offerings. Amathus seems also to have had a particular interest in the dedication of jewellery, including seals and scarabs.<sup>125</sup> Dedications denoting a certain social status, such as chariots and chariot equipment, Phoenician ivories, and engraved metal bowls are well-known from examples found in the 'royal' tombs of Salamis (Pl. 17-18; Fig. 8). Horses were ritually sacrificed at the entrance of these tombs, a practice also indicative of the rank which the inhabitants of these tombs held within their society.<sup>126</sup>

In the Cypro-Archaic period, then, Cyprus clearly enjoyed a certain material prosperity. Monumental architecture, a lively sculptural tradition, and extensive resources for trade are among some of the manifestations of this wealth. Against this social and cultural framework, one may now set the political and military history of the time as it is reflected in the ancient written sources and in the archaeology of the island. For the local kingdoms, a particular difficulty will be found to lie in the attempt to maintain their prosperity in the face of changing political circumstances in the eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>122</sup> SCE i, 461-5; Westholm (n. 109), 49.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. e.g. J. Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases* (London, 1974), 27, pls. 21-3.

<sup>124</sup> V. Tatton-Brown, 'Gravestones of the Archaic and Classical Periods: Local Production and Foreign Influences', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident* (n. 22), 439-53.

<sup>125</sup> Laffineur (n. 25), 89-124.

<sup>126</sup> On the contents of the 'royal' tombs at Salamis, see, in general, Karageorghis, *Salamis*, iii (n. 114); id., *Salamis* (London, 1969), 23-150. On the construction of the chariots, note also J. H. Crowell, 'A Chariot from Salamis Newly Reconstructed', *RDAC* 1990, 101-15.

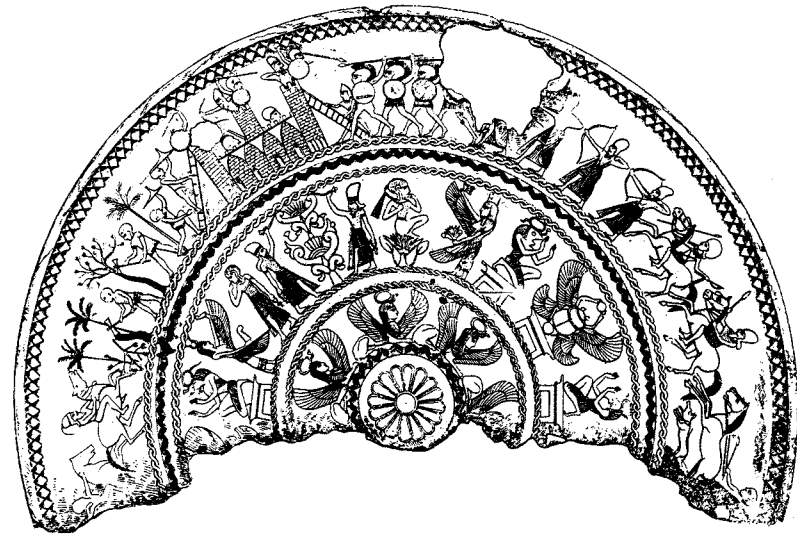


FIG. 8. Engraved silver bowl from Amathus. Diam. 0.188 m. (London, British Museum 123053, once Ruskin. After G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre* (Paris, 1882), pl. 8)

#### Endnote: Cypro-Archaic Settlement-Architecture

##### AMATHUS

F. Vandenaabee, 'Un dépôt de céramique archaïque chypriote dans un silo à Amathonte', *BCH* 109 (1985), 629-55; ead., 'Amathonte: Le Chantier sous la porte de l'acropole', *BCH* 112 (1988), 519-30 ('habitat'); F. Alabe and T. Petit, 'Le Palais', *BCH* 113 (1989), 899-910. T. Petit, 'Amathonte de Chypre: Bilan de deux campagnes de fouilles (1988 et 1989) au "palais" d'époque archaïque et classique', *Transeuphratène*, 4 (1991), 9-20 ('palais').

##### IDALION

L. Stager et al., *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 42-8 (houses; city walls); L. E. Stager and A. M. Walker, *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus, 1973-80* (Chicago, 1989), 5-53 (fortifications); 66-113 (domestic precinct).

##### KITION

K. Nicolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition* (Göteborg, 1976), 52-85; A.-M. Collombier, 'Harbour or Harbours of Kition on Southeastern Coastal Cyprus', in A. Raban (ed.), *Archaeology of Coastal Changes* (Oxford, 1988), 35-46

(city walls, harbour); SCE iii, 18 ('secular buildings'); M. Yon and A. Caubet, *Kition-Bamboula*, iii: *Le Sondage L-N 13* (Paris, 1985), 6 (domestic structures). That a harbour at Kition is represented on Assyrian reliefs at Khorsabad does not seem likely: for that argument, see P. Albenda, 'A Mediterranean Seascape from Khorsabad', *Assur* 1983, 1-34.

## KOURION

R. Scranton, *The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1967), 64 (public buildings); see also D. Soren, *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (Tucson, Ariz., 1987), 80-116, for results of a survey of the Kourion area.

## MARION

W. A. P. Childs, 'First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Polis Chrysochous by Princeton University', *RDAC* 1988/2, 122-3 (habitations).

## PAPHOS

F. G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos* (Nicosia, 1984), 155-6 (city walls; public buildings; private houses; workshops); see also the results of the Canadian Palaepaphos Survey: Rupp, *Western Cyprus* (n. 11), 147.

## SALAMIS

J. Jehasse, 'Le Rempart méridional de Salamine', in *Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie* (Paris, 1980), 147-50 (rampart).

## SOLOI

J. des Gagniers, 'Excavations at Soloi', in N. Robertson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments* (New Jersey, 1975), 218 (houses); cf. A. Westholm, *The Temples of Soli* (Stockholm, 1936), 14-15.

## TAMASSOS

H.-G. Buchholz, 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1973', *AA* 89 (1974), 568-70 (city walls).

## PART II

## Cyprus, the Near East, and Egypt

## *Cyprus and Assyria*

I had lying upon a chair a volume of Layard's 'Nineveh,' and selecting a page upon which was an engraving as nearly resembling the object I knew the man had concealed as I could find, I told him that this book was a book of divination, and that by it I could discover whether or not he had secreted any of the antiquities. Then, boldly turning to the engraving, I pointed it out to him, and demanded its immediate restitution, but with the promise of a good backsheesh if complied with at once.

The amazed and convicted peasant would clap his hand on his head, or use some other sign of astonishment, calling out, '*Panagia mou!*' (my Blessed Virgin!) 'he has a book telling him everything' and shortly after, the missing object would be forthcoming. I do not believe Mr. Layard ever imagined that his discoveries in Nineveh would be used in such a novel mode for *discovering* antiquities in Cyprus!

L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus* (London, 1877) 127.

THE earliest written references to Cypriot history in the Cypro-Archaic period centre around the relations between Cyprus and the Assyrian Empire. In 1948, Gjerstad established a chronological scheme for the events mentioned in these references.<sup>1</sup> But his reasoning is not always self-evident, and the reliability of his chronology needs to be reviewed. A revision of Gjerstad's conclusions will also affect the way in which one views the nature of the relationship between Cyprus and Assyria.

Some discussions of this relationship stress the domination of the island by the Assyrians, and assume a military occupation and a reluctance on the part of the local kings to participate in an economy fostered by an Assyrian monarch.<sup>2</sup> Others suggest that, in spite of Assyrian overlords-ship, the Cypriot kingdoms maintained 'a certain amount' of political

<sup>1</sup> SCE iv.2, 449-51. On the references, see also C. Saporetti, 'Cipro nei testi neoassiri', in *Studi ciprioti e rapporti di scavo*, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1976), 83-8.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. V. Tatton-Brown, 'The Archaic Period', in D. Hunt (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus*, 2nd edn. (London, 1990), 73.



independence.<sup>3</sup> In either view, however, it is generally thought that the cultural influence of Assyria on Cyprus was significant, and that the effects of an Assyrian domination are recognizable in the material record.

These disparities in opinion suggest that the historical evidence needs to be set out in full. It is necessary also to see whether the archaeological evidence complements, contradicts, or expands upon the written sources. In particular, the extent to which the Assyrians may have influenced Cypriot material culture requires re-examination, since that claim is usually made on the assumption that there was a strong Assyrian presence in Cyprus from the late eighth century until the middle of the seventh century BC.

### The Stele of Sargon II

The Assyrian royal inscriptions are the main historical source for the relations between Cyprus and Assyria. The earliest reference<sup>4</sup> is found on an inscribed stele of gabbro, set up in Cyprus in the eighth century, during the reign of the Assyrian king Sargon II (Pl. 2).<sup>5</sup> The stele, now

<sup>3</sup> e.g. F. G. Maier, 'Palaces of Cypriot Kings', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London, 1989), 16; V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans* (London, 1982), 129.

<sup>4</sup> I have largely excluded from consideration references to texts that mention the 'Iamani', often said to be the term used by Near Easterners to identify Greek speakers; for a general discussion, see CAH<sup>2</sup> iii.3, 1-3; J. Brinkman, 'The Akkadian Words for "Ionia" and "Ionian"' in R. F. Sutton (ed.), *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, SJ* (Wauconda, Ill., 1989), 53-71. Since Cypriots spoke Greek, they would have been included under the term, but it is not possible to be certain of their involvement. See also H. Tadmor, 'The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur', *JCS* 12 (1958), 80 n. 117; P. J. Riis, *Sukas*, i (Copenhagen, 1970), 135-6; J. Elayi and A. Cavigneaux, 'Sargon II et les ioniens', *Oriens Antiquus*, 18 (1979), 59-75; R. Zadok, *Répertoire géographique des textes cuneiformes*, viii (Wiesbaden, 1985), 186-8, s.v. Jamanu.

The earliest possible reference to Greeks in the Near East is found in Nimrud letter no. 69, probably dating to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (H. W. F. Saggs, 'The Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part VI', *Iraq*, 25 (1963), 77-8). But the cuneiform reading (KUR ia-ṣu-na-ṣa-a) here is problematic: of three items thus transliterated and listed in S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970), 186-7, Postgate read two differently (J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscript in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome, 1974), 391-3; cf. W. Röllig, *RIA*, s.v. Ionier, 150; Brinkman, cited above, 55). Note also that the chronology of this letter is disputed, and some have preferred a date in the reign of Sargon II (e.g. H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem, 1973), 232).

The reliability of D. S. 2. 16. 6 recording Cypriot shipwrights in the service of Semiramis is difficult to assess. Because of the legendary accretions surrounding Diodoros' account of her life and his own problematic historical methods, it is not certain that the passage reflects the time of Sammuramat, wife of Šamši-Adad V, king of Assyria in the late 9th cent. BC. On Semiramis in general, see W. Eilers, *Semiramis* (Vienna, 1971); A. M. G. Capomacchia, *Semiramis: Una femminilità ribaltata* (Rome, 1986).

<sup>5</sup> J. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (Mainz, 1982), 202-3, no. 175, with bibliography.

in Berlin, was certainly found in the island in 1845, but there is some confusion over its precise findspot.<sup>6</sup>

Iconographically, the stele resembles others set up in the Near East in the time of the Assyrian Empire.<sup>7</sup> It shows a profile representation of the bearded king, dressed in a long, fringed robe, and wearing a ceremonial head-dress. In his left hand he carries a sceptre. His right hand is raised. Symbols emblematic of the different Mesopotamian deities are carved in front of him. These include a horned helmet, a crescent moon, the seven-starred constellation known as the *sebitti*, a winged sun-disc, a thunderbolt, a spade, and a lance. The sculpted relief presumably substituted for the presence of the Assyrian king, a reminder of the relationship with him, and perhaps even a tangible object upon which an oath of loyalty might be sworn.<sup>8</sup> An Assyrian mason would have cut the cuneiform inscription, and an Assyrian sculptor would probably have carved the relief, which is in a purely Assyrian style.

The cuneiform inscription, cut along the sides of the stele, records that seven kings of Cyprus heard of the deeds of Sargon, took fright, and sent gifts:<sup>9</sup>

[Seven king]s of the land of Ia', a district [of Iad]nana, which [is situated] at seven days' journey [in the midst of] the sea of the setting sun, and whose dwellings are distant—[since] far-off days [they had not paid?] the tax (*šibtu*) of Assyria, for none of the kings, my fathers [who preceded] me [had even heard] the name of their land—they heard from the midst of the sea of [the deeds that I had performed] in Chaldaea and the Hatti-land, and their hearts beat fast; their [trib]ute: gold, silver, [vessels of] ebony, boxwood, the treasure of their land, [into] Babylon to my presence, [they brought and] they kissed my feet.

The cuneiform inscription and the stele's Cypriot provenance securely identify Cyprus as Iadnana, but the extent of the district Ia' is unclear. The information on the stele is largely repeated in inscriptions from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad,<sup>10</sup> and in an inscribed clay prism from

<sup>6</sup> Both Idalion and Kition are claimed as the stele's provenance: Katzenstein (n. 4), 240-1, nn. 109 and 112.

<sup>7</sup> For examples of similar stelai, see Börker-Klähn (n. 5), 195-218, nos. 161-230.

<sup>8</sup> On the ceremonial nature of stelai and rock-reliefs, see Börker-Klähn (n. 5), 56-7; cf. D. Ussishkin, 'Hollows, "Cup-Marks", and Hittite Stone Monuments', *AS* 25 (1975), 85-103; S. Dalley, 'The God *Salmu* and the Winged Disk', *Iraq*, 48 (1986), 99-100.

<sup>9</sup> Trans. S. Dalley. Restorations are made from parallel passages in the *Annals* and the *Display Inscription* of Sargon. For a published transliteration, see H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* i (Leipzig, 1889), 174-85.

<sup>10</sup> *ARAB* ii, 22, no. 44; 26, no. 54; 36, no. 70; 41, nos. 80 and 82; 45-6, no. 92; 48, no. 96; 50, no. 98; 51, no. 99; 54, no. 102.

Nimrud, capital of the Assyrian Empire,<sup>11</sup> Sargon records the raising of the stele at Iadnana.

It is not possible to establish the exact year in which the Cypriot kings sent their gifts to Sargon. The inscription mentions Sargon's third year as king of Babylon, which was his fifteenth as king of Assyria. This provides a date of around 707 BC. But the chronological sequence of events mentioned in the stele is unclear, and the palace inscriptions do not allow further precision.<sup>12</sup> The late eighth-century dating need not mean, of course, that contacts between Assyria and Cyprus were first established then. The stele simply shows that, by this time, the exchange of goods between the two places was of such a significance that the relationship was formally recorded on an inscribed monument.

Since the stele records simply that the Cypriot kings heard of Sargon's deeds from afar and sent gifts,<sup>13</sup> there is no need to imagine an invasion by an 'élite Assyrian corps' into Cyprus, deliberately sent to establish Assyrian sovereignty over the island. The stele uses the word *šibtu*, which is a kind of Assyrian tax, the precise nature of which is very uncertain.<sup>14</sup> At a local level in Assyria, the term *šibtu* does imply 'an exaction on the flocks and herds of private persons', perhaps by an Assyrian official,<sup>15</sup> and in Babylonia, the collection may have been 'in the hands of the governors'.<sup>16</sup> To extrapolate from this local sense of the word, however, to a wider context is hazardous, particularly since there is no evidence for Assyrian officials in Cyprus, and there is some chance that the collection of the *šibtu*-tax in Babylonia by governors is 'atypical'.<sup>17</sup>

The mere presence of a stele does not imply the presence of an Assyrian governor. There are examples of similar stelai erected at sites in the Near East which certainly did not have Assyrian governors. These were simply meant to mark geographically strategic points around the Assyrian Empire,<sup>18</sup> or as propagandistic statements of power, indicating

<sup>11</sup> C. J. Gadd, 'Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud', *Iraq*, 16 (1954), 191–3, with commentary ad loc.

<sup>12</sup> On the chronological problems, see Elayi and Cavigneaux (n. 4), 66. The event is unmentioned in Tadmor (n. 4), 77–100.

<sup>13</sup> Elayi and Cavigneaux (n. 4), 66, cite the following variant reading from a Sargonid palace inscription: *emuqat Aššur gapšati* [e?]-mu-ru-ma ('they saw the mighty troops of Assur . . .'), but this seems to be a misreading of [iš]-mu-ur-ma ('they heard . . .').

<sup>14</sup> See, in general, Postgate (n. 4), 171–3.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 171.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> See Börker-Klähn (n. 5), 57, § 193, on the positioning of Neo-Assyrian stelai; cf. I. J. Winter, 'On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and their Context', *AS* 29 (1979), 148–9 n. 146. See also

that a particular border marked 'the edge of the area of tight Assyrian control'.<sup>19</sup>

It might be argued, however, that certain palace inscriptions do, in fact, suggest the actual presence in Cyprus of an Assyrian official acting as governor.<sup>20</sup> The following passage may be taken as an example:

From Iadnana, which is in the sea of the setting sun, as far as the border of Egypt and the land of Muški—the wide land of Amurru, the Hittite-land in its entirety, all of Gutium, the distant Medes on the edge of the Bikni Mountains, as well as the lands of . . . [here follows a long list of peoples and places] . . . all of these I brought under my sway (*mithariš ebēl*); over them I set my officials as governors (*šutrēšiya bēl pahāti*); the yoke of my sovereignty I placed upon them.

These texts, however, draw no distinctions between the different types of relationships known to have existed between the Assyrian monarchy and neighbouring areas.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the mention of Sargon's imposition of 'the yoke of his sovereignty' need be no more than a literary turn-of-phrase common in Assyrian historical writing.<sup>22</sup> It becomes unsafe, then, to posit the actual presence of an Assyrian governor in Cyprus on the basis of these references.<sup>23</sup>

The inscription on the stele of Sargon goes on to record the place in Cyprus at which it was intended to be set up:<sup>24</sup>

[At that time] I had a *narū*-stele (i.e., a rock relief ?) made, and [? symbols of] the great [god]s my lords [? I carved] upon it.<sup>25</sup> A statue of my royalty [? praying for]<sup>26</sup> my long life in front of them I set up. [? The people] whom, from sunrise [to] sun[set], with the help of Aššur, [? Ištar], (and) Marduk, the

N. Na'aman, 'Israel, Edom, and Egypt in the Tenth Century BCE', *TA* 19 (1992), 84 n. 11. For a distribution map showing the positioning of Neo-Assyrian stelai in the Near East, see M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1990), 179.

<sup>19</sup> Winter (n. 18), 148–9 n. 146, on the Zinjirli stele of Esarhaddon.

<sup>20</sup> e.g., *ARAB* ii, 26, no. 54; 41, no. 82; 48, no. 86; 50, no. 98; 54, no. 102.

<sup>21</sup> On the differing relations between Assyria and its neighbours, see e.g. M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion* (Missoula, Mont., 1974), 42.

<sup>22</sup> On the literary nature of the Assyrian royal inscriptions, see A. K. Grayson, 'Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Literary Characteristics', in F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons* (Rome, 1981), 35–47.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the deductions on Assyrian administrative practices in Cyprus suggested in E. Lipinski, 'Le ba'ana' d'Idalion', *Syria*, 63 (1986), 379; V. Karageorghis, *Kition* (London, 1976), 109.

<sup>24</sup> Trans. S. Dalley.

<sup>25</sup> On the translation of *narū* as 'rock-relief', cf. *CAD* xi.1, 366, s.v. *narū*, definition 3(a), citing D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924), 84, lines 55–6 (The Bavian Inscription). Winckler (n. 9), who did not have the similar Bavian text at his disposal, restored the inscription slightly differently, to give: 'and [the might of] the great [god]s my lords [I wrote] upon it.'

<sup>26</sup> For the reading, see R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (Graz, 1956) 87 n. 4.

gods my help, [? to the yoke of] my lordship I made submissive, [I wrote] upon it. [At the . . . ] of the mines (*hurri KUR-i*, lit. 'mountain holes'<sup>27</sup>), [ . . . . . ] of Adnana-land, I set (it) up.

The text suggests that the stele was set up facing a rock-relief and in a place associated with the mines of Cyprus.<sup>28</sup> The positioning emphasizes the importance of the island as a source of metal — presumably copper, in the main—for Mesopotamia. The Sargonid palace inscriptions also use the words *katru/kadru*<sup>29</sup> and *madattu*<sup>30</sup> to describe what the Cypriot rulers sent to the Assyrian king. Neither word, however, implies direct submission or the imposition of a direct Assyrian administration. The word *katru* or *kadru* indicates a 'gift, present, offering, or bribe'.<sup>31</sup> The term *madattu*, at its most basic level, simply denotes anything given<sup>32</sup> — and this need not imply direct submission or the imposition of a direct Assyrian administration.<sup>33</sup>

It does not follow, therefore, that the Cypriots were unhappy to pay tribute to the Assyrian king. Indeed, just as other Levantine communities had, the Cypriots probably recognized the commercial and political advantages of participating in an economic system protected by the Assyrians.<sup>34</sup> Since there was a large Phoenician population settled in Cyprus, the kings of the island may well have been kept advised of events in Syria and Palestine through their Phoenician contacts, and then acted in their own interests. It is possible too that the Assyrian rulers also used Phoenician contacts to ensure the continued movement of goods from the island into the Assyrian

<sup>27</sup> On the translation 'mines,' see *AHW* i, 359, s.v. *hurru*, definition no. 4, 'Bergwerk'; *CAD* vi, 253, s.v., *hurru*, definition (c).

<sup>28</sup> The terms used in the inscription on Sargon's stele are similar to those used on the Bavian Inscription: Luckenbill (n. 25), 78–85. Since the sculptural arrangements described in the inscription at Bavian are known from the actual site, there can be no doubt about the meaning of the terms used on that occasion; for a picture of the reliefs, see e.g. Roaf (n. 18), 153. The similarities in vocabulary between the Bavian inscription and the inscription on Sargon's stele accordingly suggest that, in Cyprus, the position of the latter was similar to that of the former.

<sup>29</sup> e.g. A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, Part I. *The Annals* (Paris, 1929), 68, line 460.

<sup>30</sup> e.g. Winckler (n. 9), 64, line 385.

<sup>31</sup> *CAD* viii, 32, s.v. *kadru*.

<sup>32</sup> It is derived from the verb 'nadānu', which simply means 'to give'.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. M. Mauss, *The Gift* (London, 1969) 71: 'They [i.e., gifts] are . . . made not solely in order to pay for goods or services, but also to maintain a profitable alliance . . .'

<sup>34</sup> The mutually beneficial nature of the relationship may have resembled the one described in the Barrakkab inscriptions from Zinjirli: J. L. Gibson (ed.), *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, ii (Oxford, 1975), 76–9. Cf., analogously, F. M. Cross, 'A Recently Published Phoenician Inscription of the Persian Period from Byblos', *IEJ* 29 (1979), 40–4.

palaces, but the extent to which they did so, if at all, remains unknown.<sup>35</sup>

The above is not meant to deny the likelihood that individual Assyrians were travelling into Cyprus, or parts of it, just as Cypriots could travel into Mesopotamia. There is, in fact, a Neo-Assyrian oracular inscription, too fragmentary for its chronology and context to be established precisely, that seems to mention a man with an Assyrian name, arriving (?) from Cyprus (? [I]a-[d]a-n[a-n]i).<sup>36</sup> The name of the man has been read as 'Zeru-Iddinna'. Because the inscription mentions him by name it is likely that he was of some importance.

Furthermore, a passage in a sixteenth-century AD Lusignan history of Cyprus suggests that Amathus had been founded by Assyrians 'in the time of Ninos':<sup>37</sup>

Amathe, ou Amathuse, est une ville très ancienne au rivage de la mer, à l'opposite du Midi, distante de six mille de Neapole, située sur une petite colline, laquelle fut edifiée par les Assyriens du temps de Nine.

The chronicler's sources are unknown, and there is nothing to support or elucidate his contention. For the Greeks, Ninos was the eponymous hero of Nineveh, a legendary figure to whom were attributed stories whose historicity is now difficult to establish. It is possible that, ultimately, the Ninos-figure derives from the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208 BC), perhaps from a hypocoristic form of that name.<sup>38</sup> The excavations at Amathus, however, have given no reason for supposing that the kingdom was founded so early.<sup>39</sup> The chronicler may simply have meant that there was a generally Near Eastern population in Amathus, rather than a specifically Assyrian one. Indeed, the passage need suggest no more than that Assyrian traders regularly used Amathus as a port of entry.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. Elayi, 'Les Cités phéniciennes et l'empire assyrien à l'époque d'Assurbanipal' *RevAssy* 77 (1983), 49–50; B. Oded, 'Phoenician Cities and the Assyrian Empire in the Time of Tiglath-Pileser III', *ZDPV* 90 (1974), 47.

<sup>36</sup> K4269 in the Kuyunjik Collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum; I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod: State Archives of Assyria*, iv (Helsinki, 1990), 108, no. 92, with bibliography. On the difficulties of establishing precise provenances for tablets in the Kuyunjik Collection, see J. E. Reade, 'Rassam's Babylonian Collection: The Excavations and the Archives' in E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vi (London, 1986), pp. xiii–xxxvi.

<sup>37</sup> P. Aupert and M.-C. Hellmann, *Amathonte*, i (Paris, 1984), 49, no. 112.

<sup>38</sup> On Ninos in general, see E. A. Speiser, 'In Search of Nimrod', *EI* 5 (1958), 32–6; K. van der Toorn and P. W. von der Horst, 'Nimrod Before and After the Bible', *HThR* 83 (1990), 1–29.

<sup>39</sup> P. Aupert, 'Amathonte: Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux de l'école française d'Athènes (1975–1979)', *RDAC* 1980, 217.

That Gjerstad and others should have assumed an Assyrian invasion and direct control of Cyprus is perhaps not surprising, since the Assyrian Empire is traditionally portrayed as a military power which ruthlessly destroyed cities and deported their inhabitants.<sup>40</sup> Recent research has shown, however, that the kings of Assyria were more sensitive than has been supposed to the needs and sensibilities of the different peoples with whom they came into contact. They probably did more to foster than to curtail trade.<sup>41</sup>

There are no other references from the eighth century BC that certainly mention Cypriots.<sup>42</sup> Sargon's annals refer to men from 'Papa' or 'Pappa' in the royal palace, and they have been identified as 'Paphians'.<sup>43</sup> The men from Papa or Pappa participate in a conspiracy with the people of the land of Kakmê (in north-east Assyria) against Sargon,<sup>44</sup> and they are reported as deportees to Damascus and the Hatti-land of Anatolia. As the place-name Pappa on the prism of Esarhaddon dated to 673/2 BC is most likely 'Paphos',<sup>45</sup> it is not impossible that the men from Papa or Pappa mentioned in Sargon's annals are also Paphians. Forrer, however, suspected that the men from Pappa or Papa in these texts might be related to the people of Anatolian Pappa, in Lycaonia.<sup>46</sup> Oded placed them in Urartu.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>40</sup> H. W. F. Saggs, *The Might that was Assyria* (London, 1984), 243–68, presents the standard picture, and note the implications of the title.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Ezek. 23: 26; Nahum 3: 16. See also Cogan (n. 21), 111–15; B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 74; 115; I. J. Winter, 'Carchemish ša kišad puratti', *AS* 33 (1983), 194; M. Gras et al., *L'Univers phénicien* (Paris, 1989), 81.

<sup>42</sup> J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914), 450 and 556, no. 4426, presents a 'spindle shaped weight of green stone' with a cuneiform inscription which, Myres thought, had been 'added in modern times'. Myres describes the inscription as 'unpublished' and implies that the weight had become part of the Metropolitan Museum in 1874 as part of the Cesnola Collection. But in fact, the weight was excavated by the Wolfe expedition to Babylonia, and the inscription and weight were published in W. H. Ward, 'On an Inscribed Babylonian Weight', *JAOS* 13 (1889), pp. lvi–lvii. As Ward was director of the Wolfe expedition, it seems unlikely that he could have been mistaken over the provenance of the weight. There is therefore no reason to doubt the authenticity of the inscription, as Myres had suggested. On the Wolfe Expedition, see, in general, H. V. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Edinburgh, 1903), 290. Neither the object, therefore, nor its cuneiform text has any bearing on the history and archaeology of Cyprus. For a discussion of the weight and its inscription, see J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* (Rome, 1968), 215–16 n. 1338, and 363–4, with bibliography. Brinkman's translation of the inscription identifies the owner of the weight as 'Nabu-šumu-lišir, member of the Dakkuru tribe' of southern Babylonia. He dates the inscription tentatively to between 811 and 770 BC.

<sup>43</sup> *CAH* iii.2, 90. For the relevant texts, see *ARAB* ii, 4, no. 9; 29, no. 56; 62, no. 118. For transliterations of the Akkadian, see Lie (n. 29), 12, line 76 (*Pa-a-pa-a-a*); Winckler (n. 9), 108–9, line 57 (*Pa-ap-pa*); 86–7, line 45 (*Pa-a-pa-a-a*); D. G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (Leipzig, 1883), 32–3, line 28 (*Pa-pa*). The description in *ARAB* of these men as conspirators 'against', rather than 'with', the men from the land of Kakmê is probably incorrect; see Lie (n. 29), 12 n. 5.

<sup>44</sup> On the land of Kakmê, see *RIA* v, 289, s.v. Kakmum.

<sup>45</sup> See Table 2, p. 160.

<sup>46</sup> E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920), 77.

<sup>47</sup> Oded (n. 41), 130.

### Sennacherib and the Revolt of Luli

Slight confirmation of the informality of the relationship between Cyprus and the Assyrian king may be found in Assyrian palace inscriptions describing events of 701 BC, in the reign of Sennacherib. The inscriptions record that Luli, 'king of Sidon', revolted against the king, but 'was afraid to fight me [i.e., Sennacherib] and fled to the country Cyprus, which is (an island) in the midst of the sea, and sought refuge (there). But even in this land, he met infamous death before the awe-inspiring splendour of the "Weapon" of my lord Ashur'.<sup>48</sup> Luli's flight to Cyprus in order to find refuge (*šadāšu imid*)<sup>49</sup> from Sennacherib would seem to indicate that Cyprus was not under the king's direct control.

Josephos, quoting the historian Menander of Ephesos, recorded that Luli had put down a revolt in Kition,<sup>50</sup> and it has been thought that he was sent by the king of Assyria.<sup>51</sup> The revolt in question cannot be dated precisely, and suggested chronologies have ranged from the reign of Shalmaneser V to that of Sennacherib, always assuming that Menander's report is accurate.<sup>52</sup> But as there is nothing in the Greek or Assyrian texts that need imply a causal relationship between Luli's actions over Kition and the political and military activities of the Assyrians in Phoenicia, it seems preferable to view the revolt which Luli quelled simply in terms of a dispute between colony and mother-city.<sup>53</sup>

None of the names of any of the Cypriot kings contemporary with Sargon or Sennacherib is known. But a silver bowl, allegedly from Kourion, is inscribed in the Cypriot syllabary with the name of a Paphian king:<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 288. Cf. *ARAB* ii, 142, no. 309; 147, no. 326; 118, no. 239. For transliterations from the Akkadian, see Luckenbill (n. 25), 29: 38–40; 77: 17–19. See also Isaiah 23: 1–14, said to have been spoken by the prophet as a prediction of Luli's flight to Cyprus. For an Assyrian relief probably showing the flight of Luli from Tyre, see R. D. Barnett, 'Ezekiel and Tyre', *EI* 9 (1969), 6–13; id., 'Phoenicia and the Ivory Trade', *Archaeology*, 9 (1956), 91.

<sup>49</sup> For the meaning, see *CAD* xvii.1, 55–6, s.v. šadū, definition (j); cf. *CAD* iv, 140, s.v. emēdu, definition 1d–3.

<sup>50</sup> *J. AJ* 9. 284. Honigmann in *RE* iiA, 2218, s.v., Sidon, is unsure of the equation between the Luli of the Assyrian royal inscriptions and the Elulaios mentioned by Josephos; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, i (Cambridge, 1940), 102 and n. 3, calls the equation 'uncertain'.

<sup>51</sup> Elayi and Cavigneaux (n. 4), 66–7.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Katzenstein (n. 4), 226; Karageorghis (n. 23), 109.

<sup>53</sup> At least there need be no causal relationship if Niese's ἐπὶ τοῦτου Σελάμψας at *J. AJ* 9. 284 is correct. If ἐπὶ τοῦτους πέμψας is read (as in Dindorf's edition of 1845), then the Assyrian king may be said to have sent Luli.

<sup>54</sup> T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971), 373–6, no. 217; Masson, *ICS*, 412, no. 180a; G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985), 177–9, no. Cy8; H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern* (Munich, 1985), 164–5, no. 429.

If Markoe is correct in dating this bowl to the late eighth or early seventh century,<sup>55</sup> then Akestor would have ruled in Paphos around the time of Sargon or Sennacherib.

### *Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and the 'Period of Independence'*

One may assume that trading relations between Cyprus and Assyria continued into the seventh century. These relations were apparently unaffected by whatever disputes arose between the Phoenician mainland and the Phoenician colonies in the island. Concerning Cypriot history at this time, there are only three references in the Assyrian royal inscriptions.

The first reference is found in a bull inscription from the Assyrian palace at Nineveh.<sup>56</sup> It dates to 694 BC, and in it Sargon mentions captive Tyrian, Sidonian, and Cypriot shipbuilders and sailors. The circumstances under which these prisoners were taken are unknown. Again, however, there is no reason to assume a specific dispute between Cyprus and Assyria, rather than one between Assyria and Phoenicia.

The second reference is a clay prism which commemorates the rebuilding of the royal palace at Nineveh.<sup>57</sup> It dates to 673/2 BC, in the reign of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon. The prism lists ten Cypriot rulers by name and records that they sent raw materials to the king for the rebuilding of his palace.<sup>58</sup>

The third reference appears on a cylinder from the time of Ashurbanipal.<sup>59</sup> It records that he marched against the Nubian king

<sup>55</sup> On the chronology of the bowl, see Markoe (n. 54), 149–56; cf. Matthäus (n. 54), 173, on no. 429. For comments on Markoe's chronology, note also the review by I. Winter in *Gnomon*, 62 (1990), 237–8.

<sup>56</sup> Luckenbill (n. 25), 73, line 60 reading <sup>kur</sup> *Ia-ad-na-na-ai*; on the reading, note Brinkman (n. 4), 56–7 n. 15. The translation in *CAH* iii.3, 19 is inaccurate.

<sup>57</sup> Borger (n. 26), 59–61:40–82; *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 290–1. See also C. Baurain, 'Un autre nom pour Amathonte de Chypre?', *BCH* 105 (1981), 366–70. The name of Eteander, king of Paphos, also appears inscribed on a pair of gold bracelets allegedly from Kourion. Mitford (n. 54), 7–11, suggests that they date to the 7th cent. BC, and that the same ruler is named on both the prism of Esarhaddon and the bracelets. Masson, *ICS*, 192, no. 176, following Myres (n. 42) 392–3, nos. 3552–3, and Hill (n. 50), 107 n. 4, dates the bracelets to the 6th or early 5th cent.

<sup>58</sup> On the names of the Cypriot kings and kingdoms mentioned, see Table 2, p. 160.

<sup>59</sup> *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 294; cf. *ARAB* ii, 340–1, no. 876, with bibliography.

Taharqa in 664 BC, accompanied by the same ten kings named in the prism of Esarhaddon. From this inscription, it would appear that Cyprus still maintained a close relation with Assyria after Esarhaddon's reign.

Gjerstad, however, argued that, after the end of Esarhaddon's reign, Cyprus 'freed' itself from Assyrian control. He rejected the evidence of the cylinder dated to Ashurbanipal's time on the following grounds:<sup>60</sup>

It seems unlikely that there would have been no change at all on the thrones of the ten Cypriot kingdoms in the period between the tribute list of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, and one must therefore conclude that the inscription of Ashurbanipal—as regards the list of the Cypriot kings—is only a copy of the prism of Esarhaddon, i.e., Ashurbanipal pretended to have received tribute from the Cypriote kings, but he did not. This is of importance for the political history of Cyprus: the Cypriote kings who were forced by Sargon and Esarhaddon to pay tribute and submit to the Assyrian Empire succeeded in regaining their independence from Assyrian domination from the very beginning of Ashurbanipal's reign. The Assyrian domination thus lasted from 709 BC to 669 BC, i.e., c.40 years.

In 1979, however, Gjerstad recanted this opinion in a footnote, without giving any reasons.<sup>61</sup>

He was probably right to withdraw his opinion, if only because, as has been argued above, there is no evidence for antagonism between the Cypriot kingdoms and the Assyrian kings. The identical list of names, furthermore, may simply reflect the short span of time—five to six years—between Ashurbanipal's campaign and the events recorded in the prism of Esarhaddon.<sup>62</sup> It is noteworthy that the names of the kings from Syria and Palestine recorded in the cylinder are not simply copies of those in the prism. This suggests that Ashurbanipal's scribes were maintaining a standard of accuracy.

It could be argued that, after Sennacherib's destruction of Tarsus in southern Turkey in 696 BC, antipathy would have existed between the Greeks and the Assyrians, since Tarsus seems to have supported a large Greek population; corollary to this would be the assumption that, as Greek-speakers, Cypriots could not have maintained trading relations with the Assyrian monarchy after this time.<sup>63</sup> But a cuneiform tribute

<sup>60</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 450–1.

<sup>61</sup> E. Gjerstad, 'The Phoenician Colonization and Expansion in Cyprus', *RDAC* 1979, 239 n. 4.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Elayi (n. 35), 47; *CAH* iii.3, 19–20.

<sup>63</sup> Note e.g. J. N. Coldstream in the discussion section of P. J. Riis, 'Griechen in Phönizien', in H. G. Niemeyer (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz, 1982), 260 ('Surely no Greek colonists would

list that dates to the reign of Ashurbanipal demonstrates that there were Greek-speakers somewhere near Cilicia, and that they were tributary to the king.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, the relationship between Cyprus and Assyria that is first attested epigraphically in the reign of Sargon II need not have ended by the time of Ashurbanipal. Indeed, it probably would have continued until the collapse of the Assyrian Empire and the fall of Nineveh in 612 BC. The connections with Mesopotamia engendered between Cyprus and Assyria in the eighth and seventh centuries, moreover, probably persisted into Neo-Babylonian times.<sup>65</sup>

If the argument above is correct, then the period known as the 'hundred years of independence' (c.660–560 BC) in standard accounts of Cypriot history is largely illusory.<sup>66</sup> Gjerstad's original depiction of seventh-century Cyprus as an era characterized by Eteocypriot ingenuity resurgent in a time of political independence is misleading.<sup>67</sup> On the contrary, the noted prosperity of Cyprus in the seventh century was probably due to a continuing role within the Assyrian Empire.

have been allowed to settle there after the Assyrians had annexed Cilicia in 709.) For a possible Rhodian colony in Cilicia, see Plb. 21. 24. 10; Str. 14. 671, but these references cannot be dated precisely. Note also the following for evidence of Greeks raiding Cilicia c.694 BC: Beros. *FGH* 680 F 7; Abyd. *FGH* 685 F 5.

<sup>64</sup> Forrer (n. 46), 53, rev. 3:8 (*Ia-[ma]-na*). The geographical organization of the list and the cuneiform tracings make no other restoration likely.

<sup>65</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, 'Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium BC', *JCS* 21 (1967), 236–54, esp. 241, for two trading documents, dated to 551 and 550 BC, that mention a certain Nadin-ahi, a merchant importing copper and iron from the area of 'Yamana'. Oppenheim speculates that the term 'Yamana' may refer to Cyprus. See also Brinkman (n. 4), 59–60.

Note also Masson, *ICS*, 344, no. 353, for a Neo-Babylonian seal with a Cypro-syllabic inscription. In general, however, it is not possible to use the evidence of Neo-Babylonian seals found in Cyprus to show direct contact with Mesopotamia, since these seals were widely used in the Levant and Iran, and chronologically they date from within the second half of the 7th cent. until the Achaemenid period. For a general discussion of Neo-Babylonian seals with relevant bibliography, see B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, iii (Oxford, 1988), 56–7 and 82, no. 564–6, for examples from Cyprus. See also A. D. Tushingham, 'A "Neo-Babylonian" Seal from Tell Taanach', *BASOR*, no. 286 (May 1992), 15–18. For other examples from Cyprus, see V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1987', *BCH* 112 (1988), 804 with n. 17; *SCE* ii, 771, no. 2684; pl. 243, no. 13; Vollenweider, *Geneva*, i, 74, no. 81.

The implications of A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (New York, 1975), 112, chron. 8, line 9; 257 (Achaemenid period) on *la-a-nu* are probably misleading; the text cannot be used as evidence for a Greek presence in Mesopotamia. See R. Zadok, 'Iranian and Babylonian Notes', *AfO* 28 (1981/82), 138.

<sup>66</sup> Above, p. 3 with n. 7.

<sup>67</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 451–2.

### Assyrian Objects and the Archaeological Record

From the written sources, then, it is not possible to argue for the sustained direct involvement of Assyria in Cypriot affairs. An argument for such sustained involvement would be strengthened if, as some have claimed, typically Assyrian objects formed part of the archaeological record in Cyprus, or if Assyrian influences manifested themselves in the material remains. Thus, in the areas of Syria, Palestine, and Jordan, an Assyrian domination is evident through the presence of distinctive seals and sealings, pottery-types, and architecture.<sup>68</sup> None of these types of objects, however, is evident, as yet, in Cyprus. This suggests that the relationship between the Mesopotamian powers and the coastal cities of the Near East differed from that between these powers and Cyprus.

#### STAMP SEALS

There is a small number of stamp seals in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, cut in the elaborate and common styles associated with Neo-Assyrian glyptic (Pl. 19).<sup>69</sup> There is also one Neo-Assyrian stamp seal in the collection of the Pierides Museum, Larnaca.<sup>70</sup> But the provenances of all these seals are unknown, and because they were all probably acquired at roughly the same time in the last century by Cesnola and Pierides, who were good friends, the strong suspicion must remain that they were brought to the island together, as part of the burgeoning antiquities trade. Even if this were not the case, Cyprus is still unlikely to have learnt the use of stamp seals from Assyria, since, from the end of the eighth until the seventh century, Assyria itself was still in the process of adopting the stamp seal in place of the cylinder.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. C.-M. Bennett, 'Some Reflections on Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan', in R. Moorey and P. Parr (eds.), *Archaeology in the Levant* (Warminster, 1978), 168–71; ead., 'Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan', in A. Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, i (Amman, 1982), 181–7; R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1969), 291.

<sup>69</sup> For examples, see Myres (n. 42), 443, nos. 4362, 4365, 4368; 444, no. 4379; 4384; cf. also 444, no. 4388; 446, no. 4390.

For examples of Neo-Assyrian seals and sealings in Syria and Palestine, see G. A. Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910*, i–ii (Cambridge, Mass., 1924) 378, pl. 56a; J. W. Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste*, iii (London, 1957), 87, pl. 15; G. E. Wright, 'Selected Seals from the Excavations at Balātah (Shechem)', *BASOR*, no. 167 (Oct. 1962) 10–11; H. Tadmor and M. Tadmor, 'The Seal of Bēlu-Ašarēdu, Majordomo', *Yediōt*, 31 (1967), 68–79; S. Geva 'A Neo-Assyrian Cylinder Seal from Beth-Shan', *JANES* 12 (1980), 45–9; R. Reich and B. Brandl, 'Gezer under Assyrian Rule', *PEQ* 117 (1985), 41–54.

<sup>70</sup> See A. T. Reyes, 'Stamp Seals in the Pierides Collection, Larnaca', *RDAC* 1991, 121, on seal no. 9.

<sup>71</sup> D. Collon, *First Impressions* (London, 1987), 75; S. Dalley and J. N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser* (Oxford, 1984), 3.

## POTTERY

No examples of the so-called 'palace wares' that are indicative of a Neo-Assyrian presence in Syria and Palestine are reported from Cyprus.<sup>72</sup> Gjerstad himself saw no evidence for the direct transmission of Assyrian motifs into the iconographic repertoire used to decorate Cypriot ceramics.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, among metal vessels, there is very little that can be associated, however tenuously, with Assyria.<sup>74</sup>

## ARCHITECTURE

None of the features appearing on local Cypriot architecture may be regarded as typically Assyrian. Nor are there any large-scale buildings that necessarily recall the Assyrian palaces.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, there are no examples of the garrisons or forts characteristic of Neo-Assyrian occupation in the Near Eastern mainland.<sup>76</sup>

*Some Claims for Assyrian Influence*

The practices associated with the 'royal' burials at Salamis and the popularity of motifs showing scenes of battle and warfare in Cypriot art are sometimes seen as examples of direct Assyrian influence on the material culture of the island. In both instances, however, the archaeological record can be interpreted in different ways.

<sup>72</sup> For examples of Assyrian 'palace wares' from Syria and Palestine, see Amiran (n. 68), 291; G. W. Van Beek, 'Tel Gamma', *IEJ* 22 (1972), 245-6.

<sup>73</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 290; 302; 304.

<sup>74</sup> Matthäus (n. 54), 355, noting 150, no. 409 and 155, no. 417 as possibly derived, at whatever remove, from Assyrian prototypes; cf. also M.-J. Chavane, *Vases de bronze au Musée de Chypre* (Lyons, 1982), 29-30, no. 14.

<sup>75</sup> Maier (n. 3), 16-27, argues for similarities between Assyrian royal buildings and Cypriot 'palaces,' but suggests that these were mediated through the influence of the Achaemenid Empire.

<sup>76</sup> On garrison architecture as evidence for a Neo-Assyrian presence in Syria and Palestine, see Bennett in Moorey and Parr (n. 67), 165-8. See also R. Amiran and I. Dunayevsky, 'The Assyrian Open-Court Building and its Palestinian Derivatives', *BASOR*, no. 149 (February 1958), 25-32; Y. Yadin, *Hazor* (London, 1972), 191-4; R. Reich, 'The Persian Building at Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar: The Assyrian Palace of Hazor?', *IEJ* 25 (1975), 233-7; V. Fritz, 'Die Paläste während der assyrischen, babylonischen, und persischen Vorherrschaft in Palästina', *MDOG* 111 (1979), 63-74; E. Oren, 'Ziglag—A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev', *Biblical Archaeologist*, 45, 1982, 155-66; Reich and Brandl (n. 69), 42-5; R. Reich, 'The Identification of the "Sealed Karū of Egypt"', *IEJ* 34 (1984), 32-8; O. Lipschitz, 'The Date of the "Assyrian Residence" at Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar', *TA* 17 (1990), 96-9.

## THE 'ROYAL' TOMBS AT SALAMIS

The eighth-century 'royal' tombs at Salamis contained such an array of luxury items that they have been seen as attempts by the kings of Salamis to imitate the lifestyles of the Assyrian monarchs.<sup>77</sup> This is not impossible. Indeed, although often considered Homeric in intent and purpose,<sup>78</sup> the burials themselves may be taken as rituals close to Assyrian practice. A Neo-Assyrian text describing a royal funeral mentions the slaughter of horses and the burial of a bronze bed,<sup>79</sup> practices reminiscent of the chariot burials and the dedication of an ivory bed among the offerings of the tombs at Salamis.

In this regard, however, two points need to be emphasized. Initially, current knowledge of the burial practices of the upper classes in Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine is so sparse that the possibility of a relationship between the funerary practices observed at Salamis and those of the Levantine coast cannot be excluded. Other places in the eastern Mediterranean practised the ritual sacrifice of horses and the burial of chariots.<sup>80</sup>

Secondly, even if it were correct to say that the Cypriot kings wished to imitate the lifestyles of the Assyrian monarchs, the desire to emulate does not imply direct domination. There are similarities between objects from the 'royal' tombs at Salamis and objects from Nimrud. Bronze bowls from Nimrud resemble metal bowls decorated with repoussé or engraved designs that are typical of the Cypriot and Phoenician iconographic repertoire.<sup>81</sup> Ivories from Salamis carved in a Phoenician style are also very similar to ones from Nimrud,<sup>82</sup> and terracotta candelabra from Salamis with moulded figures around the stand may also be related to the Nimrud ivories.<sup>83</sup> But instead of seeing these similarities as evidence of direct Assyrian domination,<sup>84</sup> one should

<sup>77</sup> Cf. V. Karageorghis, *Salamis* (London, 1969), 14; id. (n. 3), 129.

<sup>78</sup> See e.g. J. N. Coldstream, 'The Geometric and Archaic Periods', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960-1985* (Nicosia, 1985), 54-5, with references.

<sup>79</sup> J. McGinnis, 'A Neo-Assyrian Text Describing a Royal Funeral', *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*, 1 (1987), 1-11.

<sup>80</sup> See e.g. S. Dalley, 'Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Armies of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II', *Iraq*, 47 (1985), 44, on Nubian horse-burials.

<sup>81</sup> Markoe (n. 54), 2.

<sup>82</sup> For an analysis of the styles of the ivories from Salamis in comparison to those from Nimrud, see G. Herrmann, *Ivories from Room SW 37, Fort Shalmaneser* (London, 1986), 35-6; M. Mallowan and G. Herrmann, *Furniture from SW 7, Fort Shalmaneser* (London, 1974), 57-61.

<sup>83</sup> Karageorghis (n. 77), 54; 130; colour pl. 9-10; for parallels between these types of caryatids and similar objects from the Near East at this time, see P. R. S. Moorey, 'Some Syro-Phoenician Bronze Caryatid Stands', *Levant*, 5 (1973), 83-90.

<sup>84</sup> As e.g. Markoe (n. 54), 8.

rather take the presence of these goods at both Salamis and Nimrud simply as evidence that the Cypriot and Assyrian rulers desired such items equally, since they afforded a certain beauty and prestige. The Cypriot kings probably acquired these goods from the same centres in Syria and Phoenicia patronized by the Assyrians.<sup>85</sup>

#### SCENES OF BATTLE AND WARFARE

The prominence of several chariots among the discoveries at the 'royal' tombs at Salamis (Pl. 17) and the reputation of Assyria as a military power have prompted the suggestion that Cypro-Archaic representations of warfare may be associated with an Assyrian presence in the island. Thus, for both Cypriot vase-painting and sculpture, it has been assumed that the fashion for using the motif of a chariot, warrior, or horseman arose out of an Assyrian military domination in the eighth and seventh centuries. Karageorghis and des Gagniers, accordingly, argue the following in their study of the figurative decoration used on Cypro-Archaic pottery:<sup>86</sup>

Jusqu'alors, les scènes de char, les cavaliers, les guerriers étaient des thèmes extrêmement rares ou mêmes inexistants dans la peinture de vases. Les rois guerriers assyriens apportèrent des modes nouvelles dans l'île, et leurs chars richement décorés d'ornement de bronze, semblables à ceux que l'on a découverts à Salamine (fin *viii*<sup>e</sup> – *vii*<sup>e</sup> siècles), durent faire impression sur les artistes.

Monloup reached a similar conclusion concerning terracotta warrior-figurines and the influence of Assyria.<sup>87</sup>

But a study of Cypriot chariots and chariot-representations in the Iron Age has shown that 'the chariots buried at Salamis during the eighth and seventh centuries and the terracotta models of the seventh and sixth centuries are not identical with the chariots seen on ninth and seventh century Assyrian reliefs or other contemporary figured documents from the Near East'.<sup>88</sup> This would seem to rule out any relationship between the development of the chariot in Cyprus and a supposed Assyrian domination. As an artistic motif, the chariot may have been inspired not

<sup>85</sup> On the sources of the metalwork exploited by the Assyrian Empire, see S. Dalley, 'Neo-Assyrian Textual Evidence for Bronzeworking Centres', in J. Curtis (ed.), *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia* (London, 1988), 97–110.

<sup>86</sup> CCSF (text vol.), 112; cf. V. Karageorghis, 'Chars sur des vases chypriotes', *BCH* 90 (1966), 118.

<sup>87</sup> T. Monloup, *Salamine de Chypre*, xii (Paris, 1984), 10.

<sup>88</sup> J. H. Crouwel, 'Chariots in Iron Age Cyprus', *RDAC* 1987, 115; see also H. Donner, *Zaumzeug im Griechenland und Cypern* (Munich, 1980), 107, on horse-bits.

so much by the sudden influx of an essentially Assyrian technology, but rather by the gradual development of a local one, or else as the result of slow processes and piecemeal borrowings from the Levant. Scenes showing chariots, warriors, and horsemen are known from the earlier pictorial pottery of Cyprus,<sup>89</sup> and as a glyptic motif the chariot enjoyed a certain currency in Syria and Palestine during the Cypro-Archaic period.<sup>90</sup>

Nothing in the clothing or grooming of the sculptural representations of knights, charioteers, and warriors implies, by necessity, an Assyrian presence in Cyprus.<sup>91</sup> But Assyrianizing artistic elements may occasionally be discerned in the appearance of metal figurines and the decoration of metal ornaments. Two bronze statuettes, said to be from Cyprus, but whose precise provenances are unknown, recall Assyrian prototypes (Pl. 20);<sup>92</sup> bronze horse-accessories from Salamis are decorated with winged genii, scorpion-men, and other composite creatures of Assyrian mythology (Fig. 9);<sup>93</sup> particular motifs appearing on metal bands recall Assyrian parallels (Fig. 10).<sup>94</sup>

In no case, however, are the parallels with actual Assyrian art sufficiently close to warrant the assumption of direct influence. The bronze statuettes were not certainly manufactured *in* Cyprus or carried to the island in antiquity. The mythological creatures on the horse-accessories from Salamis are garbled versions of the original Assyrian motifs.<sup>95</sup> The greater part of the artistic elements used to decorate the Cypriot horse-blinkers suggest a Phoenician cultural milieu, rather than one from Mesopotamia.<sup>96</sup>

Indeed, the stele of Sargon II remains the only distinctively Assyrian

<sup>89</sup> M. Iacovou, *The Pictorial Pottery of Eleventh Century BC Cyprus* (Göteborg, 1988), 18, no. 23, figs. 49–50. Karageorghis (n. 86), 101–18, also finds traces of Mycenaean elements in the representations of chariots on Cypro-Archaic Bichrome pottery. For Mycenaean chariots on the Late Bronze Age pottery of Cyprus, see V. Karageorghis and E. Vermeule, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 20–2; 27; 32–4; 36–42.

<sup>90</sup> See e.g. A. Biran, 'Tell Dan, 1977', *IEJ* 27 (1977), 244, pl. 37c (eighth century); Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor iii–iv*, plates (Jerusalem, 1961), pl. 196, no. 27 (seal impression, Iron Age II). See also E. Gubel, 'Phoenician Seals in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam', *RSF* 16 (1988), 160–3; Reyes (n. 70), 118, on seal no. 3.

<sup>91</sup> G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, iii. *Phénicie-Chypre* (Paris, 1885), 530, suggest that some limestone sculptures imitate Assyrian work; see also Myres (n. 41), 141. After a detailed analysis, B. Lewy, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (Dortmund, 1975), 41–5, finds almost no points of comparison between Cypriot and Assyrian sculptural art.

<sup>92</sup> Perrot and Chipiez (n. 91), 515, fig. 351; A. Parrot, 'Acquisitions et inédits du Musée du Louvre', *Syria*, 35 (1958), 185–6.

<sup>93</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, iii (Nicosia, 1973), 75–86; pls. 78–128; 267–79.

<sup>94</sup> Donner (n. 88), 106–8.

<sup>95</sup> See the comments of E. Porada in Karageorghis, (n. 75), 82–6.

<sup>96</sup> Donner (n. 88), 106–8.





FIG. 9. Restored drawing of a bronze breast-plate for a horse, from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79. Ht. 0.43 m. (After V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis iii*, (Nicosia, 1973) pl. 278, no. 164)

object to be recorded from Cyprus. Arguments for the Assyrian origin of some jewellery appearing on Cypriot statues<sup>97</sup> and for the possibly local use of a Babylonian sexagesimal system of measurement<sup>98</sup> are based on misapprehensions. Yon has shown also that the Cypriot lion-votives are fundamentally different from Assyrian types.<sup>99</sup>

If it is reasonable, then, to describe a period of Cypriot history as 'Assyrian'. that period is best seen as having begun around the late eighth century and continuing until the fall of Nineveh in 612 BC. Any formal contact between Cyprus and the palaces of Assyria would prob-

<sup>97</sup> P. Aupert, 'Amathonte, le Proche-Orient, et l'Égypte', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia, 1986), 376. Cf. R. Laffineur, *Amathonte*, iii. *Testimonia* 3, *l'orfèvrerie* (Paris, 1986), 89, on ear-rings: 'suivant une mode phénicienne bien attestée'.

<sup>98</sup> Aupert (n. 97), 376. Assyria borrowed a few sexagesimal measurements from Babylonia; but its indigenous usage seems to have been largely decimal. See e.g. *RIA* vii, 511, s.v. Masse und Gewicht, on subdivisions of the shekel.

<sup>99</sup> M. Yon, 'Les Lions archaïques', in L'Institut F. Courby, *Salamine de Chypre*, iv (Paris, 1973), 35.

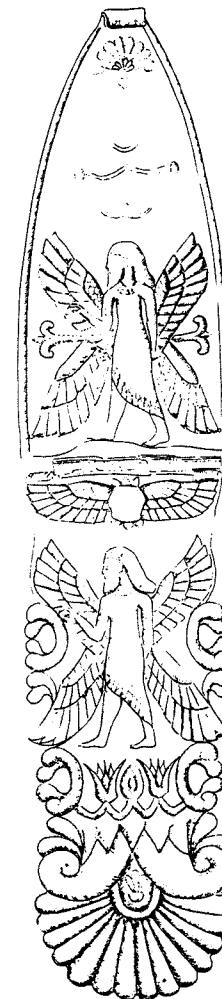


FIG. 10. Bronze band from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79. Ht. 0.475 m. (After V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, iii, pl. 269, no. 215)

ably have been conducted primarily through Phoenician intermediaries. Such Assyrianizing influences as might be detected in the material record are best considered the result of indirect transmission. It follows, then, that there is no basis for a belief in the period of a 'hundred years of independence' following the collapse of a so-called 'Assyrian

domination'. But whether it is true to say that Cypriot 'independence' came to an end with an Egyptian domination in the sixth century BC has yet to be determined.

## 4

*Cyprus and Egypt*

I was reminded of India—Eastern customs, Eastern dress, Eastern smells! The narrow street of this particular bazaar was roofed over with pieces of cloth or other material which had been slung across as a protection against the heat of the sun. Moslems and Greeks were here in numbers sitting outside their little shops or by their stalls of vegetables, fruit, or other commodities, some carrying on bargains, others merely enjoying a gossip. I noticed a board outside one of the little shops advertising the inevitable Singer sewing machines, without which no Eastern bazaar seems complete. I had seen these sewing machines in every village I visited in Egypt; they were even to be found in proud display at the desert oasis of Faiyum. It was not surprising therefore to find they had also invaded the bazaars of Cyprus.

O. M. Chapman, *Across Cyprus* (London, 1937), 126

It seems likely that, from an early time in the Iron Age, Cyprus was already in contact with Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian tale of Wenamun, conventionally dated c.1100 BC, describes the voyage of an Egyptian merchant whose ship is caught by strong winds and blown to Cyprus, as he attempts to return home from Byblos in Phoenicia.<sup>2</sup> At Egyptian sites in the Nile Delta, Gjerstad noted the presence of Cypriot pottery which he could date to the late ninth or early eighth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

The cosmopolitan nature of Saite Egypt during the seventh and sixth centuries promoted further commercial interaction between Cyprus and the Nile Delta.<sup>4</sup> The historian Hekataios of Miletos (fifth century BC)

<sup>1</sup> On the archaeological manifestations of this contact, see e.g. E. J. Peltenburg, 'Ramesside Egypt and Cyprus', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia, 1986), 149–79; P. Åström, 'Trade in the Late Bronze Age', in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989), 202–8.

<sup>2</sup> H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore and London, 1975), 126–9, for a text and commentary. I have assumed that 'Alasiya' in the text refers to Cyprus; on this identification, see above, p. 23 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> SCE iv.2, 240–2.

<sup>4</sup> On the international character of Saite Egypt, see A. B. Lloyd, 'The Late Period, 664–323 BC', in B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 316–18.

could write of a Cypriot 'island' in the Nile during the Archaic period.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Stephanus of Byzantium noted the existence of a 'Libyan Cyprus', although his precise meaning remains unclear, and the period to which he refers is unknown.<sup>6</sup> At the Egyptian trading centre of Naukratis, whatever the date of its original establishment, the influence of Cypriot art is strongly evident in the rendering of some of the local sculpture.<sup>7</sup>

But an understanding of the relations between Cyprus and Egypt during the Cypro-Archaic period is inextricably linked to an understanding of 2. 182. 2 in Herodotos' history, in terms of both its chronology and its historical accuracy. After describing the dedications made by the Pharaoh Amasis in Greek sanctuaries at Samos and at Lindos in Rhodes, during the time of the Samian tyrant Polykrates (c.540 BC), Herodotos noted the following:

ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἀμασις. εἰλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγῇν.

Whereas Amasis made these dedications [to Greek sanctuaries], he seized Cyprus, the first man to do so, and compelled it to pay tribute.

Gjerstad dated the events of this passage to c.569 BC. 'For archaeological reasons', he thought, 'it seems necessary to date the conquest before 560 BC, because sculptures of Ethiopian and Egyptian type which can hardly be earlier than the Egyptian conquest were found in Ayia Irini on the fourth floor, which cannot be later than c.560 BC.'<sup>8</sup>

In his reasoning, Gjerstad was influenced by an argument advanced by the archaeologist H. R. Hall in 1925. Hall believed that, because the Egyptianizing appearance of some Cypro-Archaic sculpture<sup>9</sup> must have resulted from an Egyptian occupation of the island, the events to which Herodotos alluded in 2. 182. 2 must have taken place early in Amasis' reign; otherwise, the influence would not have been so extensive. Accordingly, he dated the events of 2. 182. 2 to 560 BC.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Hekat., *FGH Hist* 1 F 310 = St. Byz., s.v. Ἐφεσος.

<sup>6</sup> St. Byz., s.v. κύπρος.

<sup>7</sup> See, in particular, W. M. Davis, 'Ancient Naukratis and the Cypriotes in Egypt', *GM* 35 (1979), 13–23; id., 'The Cypriotes at Naukratis', *GM* 41 (1980), 7–19; H. Cassimatis, 'Des Cypriotes chez les pharaons', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 1 (1984), 33–8; cf. F. de Salvia, 'The Cypriotes in the Saite Nile Delta: The Cypro-Egyptian Religious Syncretism', in A. Nibbi (ed.), *The Archaeology, Geography, and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times* (Oxford, 1989), 81–118. On the chronological problems concerning the date of the establishment of Naukratis, see M. M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age* (Cambridge, 1970), 22–4.

<sup>8</sup> SCE iv.2, 467 n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> For examples, see above, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> *CAH* iii, 306.

Gjerstad agreed and elaborated on this reasoning. He accepted the evidence of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* 7. 4. 1–2 and 8. 6. 8, mentioning Cypriot soldiers in the Persian army c.545 and 539 BC. Had Amasis conquered Cyprus in 560, however, that would have allowed only a short time—a period of fifteen years—for Egyptian influence to manifest itself in Cypriot sculpture. Therefore, he argued, Amasis' conquest must have occurred at the very beginning of his reign, around 569 BC.<sup>11</sup>

There are, however, strong arguments against Gjerstad's suggestion. Watkin has shown that the evidence of the *Cyropaedia* with regard to Cyprus is unreliable, and that it is more plausible to date Cyprus' entry into the Persian Empire to c.525 BC.<sup>12</sup> It follows that there is no longer any need to date Amasis' invasion — if that is what it was — to a time early in his reign, even on the doubtful assumption that similarities between Egyptian and Cypriot art resulted from an Egyptian conquest. Markoe, moreover, has demonstrated in detail that the so-called Egyptian traits of Cypriot statuary are closer to the Egyptianizing character of Phoenician, rather than properly Egyptian, sculpture.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, one cannot argue from the extent of Egyptian influence on Cypriot material culture to an absolute date for the events mentioned in Herodotos 2. 182. 2.<sup>14</sup>

The chronology and meaning of the passage need to be re-examined, therefore.<sup>15</sup> Can the events of 2. 182. 2 be dated? What was the nature of the relationship between Cyprus and Egypt under Amasis?

### Chronology

In 2. 182. 2, Herodotos contrasts the friendliness shown by Amasis toward certain Greek sanctuaries with his apparent hostility toward Cyprus. After implementing anti-Greek policies at the beginning of his

<sup>11</sup> SCE iv.2, 466–7 with n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> H. J. Watkin, 'The Cypriote Surrender to Persia', *JHS* 107 (1987), 156–8; cf. R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 480 n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> G. E. Markoe, 'Egyptianizing Male Votive Statuary from Cyprus: A Reexamination', *Levant*, 22 (1990), 111–22.

<sup>14</sup> See also A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II: Commentary 99–182* (Leiden, 1988), 240 ('... strong cultural influence cannot be held to "presuppose" foreign occupation').

<sup>15</sup> In addition to the opinions of Gjerstad and Hall, the following dates have also been suggested: W. H. Engel, *Kypros: Eine Monographie*, i (Berlin, 1841), 254, 259 (539 BC); E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern*, i (Munich, 1903), 459 (535 BC); G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, i (Cambridge, 1940), 109 n. 2 ('... we do not know'). P. J. Stylianou, *The Age of the Kingdoms: A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Nicosia, 1989), 397 ('Egyptian rule, therefore, lasted less than fifteen years, from the early 550s to 545, when the Cypriotes voluntarily submitted to the Persian king, Cyrus').

reign, Amasis pursued a different strategy after the fall of Sardis to Persia in c.545 BC. By making dedications in various Greek sanctuaries, he began to cultivate alliances with the Hellenic states, for fear of a Persian invasion.<sup>16</sup> At that time, Herodotos says (1. 153. 4), Cyrus, the king of Persia, thought of attacking Egypt, and Amasis became 'a philhellene' (2. 178. 1). His actions, however, were probably conditioned more by political expediency than by any other motive. If that is correct, then 2. 182. 2 suggests a contemporaneity between Amasis' actions toward Cyprus and his actions toward the Hellenic states, since the use of the adversative construction *μὲν . . . δὲ* may appear to associate the timing of Amasis' dedications to the Greek sanctuaries with his imposition of tribute on Cyprus.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the allusion to Amasis' friendship with Polykrates in 2. 182. 2 might suggest that the events mentioned in the passage could not date before c.540 BC, when Polykrates became tyrant.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE ELEPHANTINE STELE OF AMASIS AND DIODOROS 1. 68. 1

There are, however, reasons to be suspicious of Herodotos' chronology for Amasis' reign. The events of the first and fourth years of Amasis' rule are recorded by a hieroglyphic inscription on a stele from Elephantine, which may be used to test the reliability of Herodotos' account.<sup>19</sup> In spite of its propagandist qualities and its reliance upon literary motifs, it must be considered a primary source, in contrast to Herodotos' narrative.

The stele reports that, in January of 570 BC, Amasis defeated the Pharaoh Apries, his predecessor, in an uprising. The latter, however, managed to escape and was eventually killed in battle in 567 BC, four years after Amasis came to the throne. Herodotos, in contrast, simply assigns the events of this civil war to a single year. Apparently, then, he has conflated events from the first and fourth years of Amasis'

<sup>16</sup> *CAH* iii.3, 52; cf. I. König, 'Die Xenia zwischen Polykrates und Amasis', *PdP* 44 (1989), 321–40, with relevant bibliography.

<sup>17</sup> On the possibility that 'the *μὲν* clause gives the time or circumstances in which the *δὲ* clause takes place', see J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1954), 370.

<sup>18</sup> On the difficulties of dating Polykrates' tyranny, see B. M. Mitchell, 'Herodotos and Samos', *JHS* 95 (1975), 75–91; G. Shipley, *A History of Samos, 800–188 BC* (Oxford, 1987), 74–80.

<sup>19</sup> E. Edel, 'Amasis und Nebukadrezzar II', *GM* 29 (1978), 13–20, with earlier bibliography; A. Leahy, 'The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries', *JEA* 74 (1988), 183–99.

An Egyptian stone mortar with a hieroglyphic inscription naming Amasis was recently discovered beneath the foundations of an old house in Larnaca, but it is of little historical value. It probably entered Cyprus as a result of the antiquities trade in the 19th cent.; see A. K. South, 'An Egyptian Stone Mortar with Inscription of Amasis from Larnaca', *RDAC* 1987, 77–8.

rule.<sup>20</sup> This 'foreshortening' of Egyptian history inevitably casts doubt on any chronology for Amasis' reign implied by Herodotos' account.

Edel has translated the inscription on the stele recording the events of Amasis' first regnal year (570 BC), in part, as follows:<sup>21</sup>

Der Apries—die Insel [*iw* = Cypern] setzt für ihn Seeschiffe (*kbnwt*) übergefüllt mit *H3w-nbw* [= griechischen Söldnern], deren Zahl man nicht kennt.

As for Apries — the island [*iw* = Cyprus] has prepared for him ships (*kbnwt*) overflowing with countless Greek mercenaries.

If Edel's translation correctly interprets *iw* ('island') as Cyprus, then the stele reveals that, in 570 BC, Apries attempted to regain power in Egypt with the aid of Cypriot ships. Since the stele goes on to record that Amasis 'cut off' the island,<sup>22</sup> it is then arguable that the events of 2. 182. 2 took place in 570. Gjerstad, therefore, may have arrived at roughly the correct date, but for the wrong reasons.

One can go further and associate Apries' apparent use of Cypriot aid with a passage in the work of Diodoros (1. 68. 1), from the first century BC:

στρατεύσας δὲ δυνάμεσιν ἀδραῖς πεζαῖς τε καὶ ναυτικαῖς ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην Σιδῶνα μὲν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, τὰς δ' ἄλλας τὰς ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ πόλεις καταπληξάμενος προσηγάγετο· ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ ναυμαχία μεγάλη Φοινικὰς τε καὶ Κυπρίους, καὶ λαφύρων ἀθροίσας πλῆθος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

And having advanced with the full might of his infantry and navy upon Cyprus and Phoenicia, he [Apries] took Sidon by force. But, having frightened the rest of the cities in Phoenicia, he brought them over to his side. He also conquered Phoenicians and Cypriots in a great sea battle, and after he gathered up great plunder, he returned to Egypt.

Diodoros' ultimate source is uncertain.<sup>23</sup> But his information complements and expands upon Herodotos 2. 162. 2, which mentions an attack by Apries against Tyre and Sidon. It seems likely, then, that, at this point in his narrative, Diodoros is not relying solely on Herodotos for his information.

Given the natural resources of the Levantine coast, Egypt may have had good strategic reasons for advancing upon Phoenicia, particularly in

<sup>20</sup> A. B. Lloyd, 'Herodotus' Account of Pharaonic History', *Historia*, 37 (1988), 40–1; Leahy (n. 19), 190.

<sup>21</sup> Edel (n. 19), 19.

<sup>22</sup> On the translation of the stele at this point, see Leahy (n. 19), 193.

<sup>23</sup> On Diodoros' sources in Book I, see A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1972), 1–34; O. Murray, 'Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship', *JEA* 56 (1970), 144–50.

the later years of Apries' rule, when it may have needed to forestall any potential attack from that direction.<sup>24</sup> It is therefore possible that Apries had an interest in attacking Cyprus also, and his ability to deploy a Cypriot force against Amasis in 570 BC may have been a direct result of earlier military operations in the Levant. There is, however, nothing in Diodoros' narrative to warrant the conclusion that he took political control over Cyprus or parts of it, even if he did win a naval victory over a force that included Cypriots. It remains unclear, moreover, from the Elephantine stele, as well, whether Apries' apparent use of Cypriot ships 'reflects military domination or simply an alliance'.<sup>25</sup>

The equation between the reading '*iw*' ('island') in the stele and 'Cyprus' has been challenged cogently by Leahy.<sup>26</sup> Since it is known from a papyrus text that Egyptian Thebes was supporting Apries as late as October in 570 BC, Leahy argues that Apries is not likely to have left Egypt at all after his defeat in battle in January 570, when Amasis first laid claim to the throne.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, the 'island' of the Elephantine stele would not refer to Cyprus. Instead, the word may refer to an island 'in the narrow sense of land permanently surrounded by water', such as may be found along the Nile and the Nile Delta.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Leahy argues, it would have been impractical for Amasis to have attempted naval operations in the Mediterranean during his first regnal year, when the loyalty of the Egyptian navy would have been suspect.<sup>29</sup>

Ultimately, the evidence for or against Cypriot involvement in the battles that took place during the first year of Amasis' reign must be judged equivocal. Unfortunately, the terms used in the Elephantine stele for 'island' (*iw*) and for 'ships' (*kbnwt*) are not specific enough to allow the conclusion that Amasis intended to 'cut off' a literal, rather than figurative, island. Apries may not have needed to leave Egypt in order to summon aid from Cyprus, and although Apries' support was wider than Herodotos' account implies, it does not follow that Amasis' military tactics would have been correspondingly more cautious. He might not have realized how major an undertaking it would be to block the entry of foreign reinforcements into Egypt. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the stele is the only surviving primary account mentioning possible Egyptian military action against Cyprus, in corroboration of Herodotos 2. 182. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Lloyd (n. 14), 172, which dates these events to between c.574 and 570 BC; cf. Leahy (n. 19), 194.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd (n. 14), 240.

<sup>26</sup> Leahy (n. 19), 193–7.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 195.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

## NEBUCHADREZZAR II AND AMASIS

A Neo-Babylonian tablet recording a battle between Nebuchadrezzar II of Babylon and Amasis also sheds additional light on the chronology of Herodotos 2. 182. 2.<sup>30</sup> The fragmentary text reads as follows:<sup>31</sup>

- obv. 13' [In] the 37th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Baby[lon]  
He went [to] Egypt to do battle.
- rev. 1 [ Ahm]asu king of Egypt gathered and [ . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ]-ku-ú of Putu-Yaman [ . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ] distant regions which are in the midst of the sea  
[ . . . . . ] many from the midst of Egypt
- 5 [ . . . . . ] carrying (?) weapons, horses and soldiers  
[ . . . . . ] he summoned to his aid and  
[ . . . . . ] he waited in front of him.  
[ . . . . . ] he trusted and

The text appears to suggest that in 568/7 BC, the year in question, Amasis drew on the aid of troops from Putu-Yaman, conventionally identified as Libya,<sup>32</sup> in order to repulse an attack by Nebuchadrezzar. The inscription on the Elephantine stele records that, in that year, Amasis finally defeated and killed Apries in battle. It seems a reasonable inference, therefore, that Nebuchadrezzar was helping to restore Apries to the Egyptian throne.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> BM 33041 and BM 33053 in the collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, London: D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings* (London, 1956), 94–5, with earlier bibliography; id., *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon* (Oxford, 1985), 40; *ANET*, 308; Leahy (n. 19), 191 n. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Trans. S. Dalley (collated).

<sup>32</sup> R. Zadok, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, viii (Wiesbaden, 1985), 252, s.v. Putu-Yaman; cf. S. Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (Florence, 1947), 149–57. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris, 1953), 142–3, doubts the equation. H. Winckler, 'Pittakos?', in id., *Altorientalische Forschungen*, v (Leipzig, 1897), 511; id., 'Die Euphratländer und das Mittelmeer', *Der alte Orient*, 7.2 (1905), 30–1, restored the tyrant Pittakos of Mytilene ('[Pitta]-ku-ú') to the lacuna in rev. 2, naming the leader of Putu-Yaman; but there is no evidence that he lived after 570 (A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956), 92–9) and nothing to suggest a relationship between him and Cyrene. Mazzarino restored '[La-ar]-ku-ú', on the basis of Plu. *Mul. Virt.* 25 = *Moralia* 260e; Polyain. 8. 41; and Nik. Dam. *FGH* 90 F 50, which identify him as a political leader in Cyrene, contemporary with Amasis. Chamoux has rejected this on circumstantial grounds. Other possibilities include Polyarchos and Erycho, political leaders of Cyrene contemporary with Amasis and also mentioned in the textual sources cited above. Wiseman, *Nebuchadnezzar* (n. 30), 40, restored 'Necho', but this Pharaoh was no longer in power and probably dead by this time. Lambert in Leahy (n. 19), 191 n. 30, prefers '[sa]-ku-ú', which he translates as 'chiefs' (? a variant for 'šaqú', but this word is more properly translated as 'cupbearer').

<sup>33</sup> Edel (n. 19), 13–20.

If Putu-Yaman is correctly identified as Libya, then the cuneiform text reflects the close relationship between Amasis and Cyrene that is described by Herodotos, who records that the Pharaoh married a Cyrenaean princess (2. 181. 1).<sup>34</sup> The tablet would then show that this alliance had taken place by 567 BC, although the structure of Herodotos' account appears to suggest that the Cyrenaean alliance was forged when Amasis became a 'philhellene', perhaps after the fall of Sardis.<sup>35</sup> Again, it is evident that Herodotos' chronology of Amasis' rule must be viewed with some suspicion.

Line 3 of the reverse of the cuneiform inscription alludes to 'distant regions which are in the midst of the sea', apparently referring to forces gathered by Amasis to assist him against Nebuchadrezzar and Apries. The phrase may be part of a description of Cyprus.<sup>36</sup> It cannot be taken in apposition to 'Putu-Yaman', since that word is in the singular, and 'regions' is in the plural. Once more, the evidence is equivocal, but the tablet may well provide evidence that, by 567 BC, Cyprus, together with Cyrene, maintained some sort of alliance with Amasis.<sup>37</sup>

Mitford had suggested that Euelthon, thought to have been king of Salamis c.518 BC, served as 'governor for the Egyptians'.<sup>38</sup> His suggestion, however, rests on no firm basis, particularly since the date of Euelthon's accession to the throne at Salamis is unknown.<sup>39</sup>

In general, then, the range of textual references indicates that a date early in the reign of Amasis is most plausible for the events to which Herodotos alludes in 2. 182. 2. If the Neo-Babylonian tablet is to be taken as evidence for the relations between Cyprus and Egypt, then, by 567 BC, an alliance existed between the two. But there is little firm evidence.

<sup>34</sup> On Cyrene and Amasis, see, in addition, S. Stucchi, 'The Coming of the Greeks to Cyrenaica', *MeditArch* 2 (1989), 75; cf. also Hdt. 4. 186 on Cyrenaean worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis. On Amasis' foreign wives, see J. D. Ray, 'The Names Psammetichus and Takheta', *JEA* 76 (1990), 196–9.

<sup>35</sup> On the chronology of Amasis' Cyrenaean alliance, see B. M. Mitchell, 'Cyrene and Persia', *JHS* 86 (1966), 99 n. 4 and 102 n. 19.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the phrasing of the Sargon stele above, p. 51. The suggestion is made in Mazzarino (n. 32), 157.

<sup>37</sup> On archaeological indications of contact between Cyprus and Cyrene, note a faience group showing a flautist, and a second figure wearing the typically Cypriot loin-cloths: P. G. Warden, 'The Small Finds', in D. White (ed.), *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya*, iv (Philadelphia, 1990), 11–12, on no. 32.

<sup>38</sup> *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 306, s.v. Cyprus.

<sup>39</sup> On the chronology of Euelthon's reign, see Mitchell (n. 35), 101 n. 14.

### *The Political Relationship between Cyprus and Egypt*

How, then, is the political relationship between Cyprus and Egypt to be envisioned for the Cypro-Archaic period? Herodotos implies an antagonism between Amasis and Cyprus. But the historical reconstruction outlined above, admittedly based on ambiguous evidence, suggests that, on the whole, perhaps by 567 BC, the relationship was on a more equal footing.

There is no doubt that, in Herodotos 2. 182. 2, *εἰλε* means 'seized' and *κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν* means 'subdued and made tributary.' But it is worth noting that Herodotos uses similar words to describe the activities of Kroisos of Lydia, another well-known 'philhellene':

οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι.

This Kroisos was the first foreigner whom we know to have compelled Greeks to pay tribute, while procuring others as friends. He compelled Ionians and Aiolians and Dorians who live in Asia, whereas he made Lakedaimonians his friends. But prior to the rule of Kroisos, all Greeks were free. (Hdt. 1. 6. 2)

Herodotos elaborates on this view in 1. 27. 1, where the phrase *κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν* recurs. Given the similarity of wording between 1. 6. 2, 1. 27. 1, and 2. 182. 2, one may well wonder whether the phrase should not simply be understood as a literary motif, rather than as a factual statement. Herodotos' history presents a deliberate parallel between Amasis and Kroisos, who also made dedications at various Greek sanctuaries (1. 47–56). But this literary parallel need not reflect the actual relation between Cyprus and Egypt. In this regard, the evidence of 2. 182. 2 should therefore be treated with caution.

There are other reasons to suppose that Herodotos should not be taken at face value. Foreign rulers were often portrayed in stereotyped ways by Classical Greek writers,<sup>40</sup> and Herodotos' perception of Amasis, an Egyptian monarch, may well have been coloured by his own understanding of the ways in which other tyrants, notably Kroisos, behaved.

It has been pointed out, as well, that the use of *κατεστρέψατο* in 1. 6. 2

<sup>40</sup> E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1989), 154–9; cf. F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley, Calif., and Los Angeles, 1988), 322–30; J. G. Gammie, 'Herodotus on Kings and Tyrants: Objective Historiography or Conventional Portraiture?', *JNES* 45 (1986), 171–95.

of Herodotos is comparatively mild:

It is true, he uses the strong word *κατεστρέψατο* of Kroisos' treatment of the Greeks; but that applied to the Persian conquest, namely 'enslavement,' is stronger still . . . . Only Polyainos (admittedly an uncertain authority) records [6. 50] what might have been guessed, that Kroisos' relations with the coastal cities were regulated by formal treaties, *συνθήκαι*.<sup>41</sup>

If the logic of this view is followed, then Herodotos' phrasing may conceal a similar relationship between Egypt and Cyprus. Dedications from Amasis have been found in Sidonian sanctuaries,<sup>42</sup> and there is a chance that similar dedications were also made in the sanctuaries of the Phoenician colonies of Cyprus. Indeed, Hill construed a passage in Diodoros (1. 68. 6) as having precisely that meaning:<sup>43</sup>

*κατεστρέψατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις.*

Furthermore, he (i.e., Amasis) subdued the cities in Cyprus, and adorned many of the [? Cypriot] temples with dedications that are worthy of mention.

Since, as noted above, Diodoros apparently used a source independent of Herodotos' in this part of his work,<sup>44</sup> it is not impossible that this is what he meant, although the reliability of Diodoros' reporting still remains in question. It may well be, therefore, that political relations between Amasis and Cyprus were less hostile than is normally assumed from Herodotos 2. 182. 2.<sup>45</sup>

### *The Archaeological Evidence*

If the conclusions above are correct, then it is not possible to associate anything Egyptian in the material record with an 'Egyptian domination', if only because, historically, there need not have been any such phenomenon. Very little, in fact, can be described as purely Egyptian in the archaeology of Cyprus. This Gjerstad saw,<sup>46</sup> although he failed to consider what implications this might have had for his interpretation of

<sup>41</sup> S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford, 1984), 17.

<sup>42</sup> M. Dunand, 'Note sur quelques objets provenant de Saïda', *Syria*, 7 (1926), 123-7, pl. 32.1; W. Culican, 'Quelques aperçus sur les ateliers phéniciens', *Syria*, 45 (1968), 278-9; S. Pernigotti, 'Phoenicians and Egyptians', in S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (Milan, 1988), 530.

<sup>43</sup> Hill (n. 15), 109.

<sup>44</sup> Above, p. 73.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans* (London, 1982), 139.

<sup>46</sup> SCE iv.2, 419 ('The kinds of objects imported to Cyprus or of Egyptian derivation are somewhat restricted . . .').

the written sources. Since the time Gjerstad wrote, understanding of both Phoenician and Egyptian material culture has improved, and it is now possible to gauge more accurately the artistic debt that Cyprus owed to Egypt. Accordingly, the remainder of this chapter concerns itself with those aspects of the Cypriot material record which are thought to be either Egyptian, or else influenced by Egyptian art, in order to show how little there actually is from Cyprus that can be taken as the direct result of Egyptian mediation.

In essence, painting and statuary are the two Cypriot arts that have been seen as most closely associated with Egypt. Particular claims have also been made for scarabs, scaraboids, and pendants made of faience, frit, glass, or other glazed materials.<sup>47</sup> But since, so far as these types of objects are concerned, it remains difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the Egyptianizing examples from the truly Egyptian,<sup>48</sup> it seems best to exclude them from discussion. It is not easy, moreover, to fix the chronology of these objects on the basis of either shape or motif, particularly since they are notorious as survivors in the archaeological record.<sup>49</sup> At any rate, the existence in Naukratis of a factory that produced such scarabs and scaraboids goes some way to explaining their presence in Cyprus.<sup>50</sup> A Cypriot enclave at Naukratis also explains the presence of what few possibly Egyptian bronze situlae have been found on the island.<sup>51</sup>

### PAINTING

Individual details of wall painting and vase painting have been claimed as manifestations of an Egyptian domination in Cyprus. The papyrus blossoms, lotus buds, and rosettes painted on the ceiling and interior walls of Tomb 80 at the 'royal' necropolis at Salamis are said to imitate

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.; M. C. Loulloupis, 'Evidence of Egyptian Cult in Cyprus', in *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo, 1976* (Munich, 1979), 431-9. For examples, see e.g. G. Clerc et al., *Fouilles de Kition*, ii (Nicosia, 1976); A. Forgeau, 'Scarabées, scaraboïdes, et cônes', in R. Laffineur (ed.), *Amathonte*, iii. *Testimonia* 3, *l'orfèvrerie* (Paris, 1986), 135-76; SCE ii, 826-30; 833-44; cf. also G. Hölbl, 'Die Aegyptiaca von Kition', *Orientalia*, 51 (1982), 259-64.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, iii (Oxford, 1988), 37-40; G. Hölbl, 'Ägyptische Kunstelemente im phönikischen Kulturkreis des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.', *Orientalia*, 58 (1989), 318-25, with relevant bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. G. Clerc, 'Aegyptiaca de Palaepaphos-Skales', in V. Karageorghis, *Alt-Paphos*, iii (Constance, 1983), 375-6.

<sup>50</sup> For examples of seals found in Cyprus, but possibly made in Naukratis, see A. Gorton, 'A Typology of Egyptian and Egyptianising Scarabs from Punic and Other Sites around the Mediterranean', D.Phil thesis (Oxford, 1980), 41-2.

<sup>51</sup> For examples, see H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefässuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern* (Munich, 1985), 226-7.

the interior decoration of Egyptian sarcophagi and to have resulted from direct Egyptian influence (Pl. 13).<sup>52</sup> But since wall paintings are known from the Levant in the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid periods,<sup>53</sup> it seems reasonable to suppose that Tomb 80 at Salamis provides a glimpse of what was probably a widespread practice in the eastern Mediterranean. The dating of this tomb to 'the end of the Cypro-Archaic II period and the beginning of the Cypro-Classical I'<sup>54</sup> would also exclude the possibility that the interior painting resulted from a presumed Egyptian domination before the last quarter of the sixth century.

The suggestion has also been made that, if an Egyptian domination had an impact on Cypriot ceramics, its greatest impact was on the painted decoration of the distinctively-shaped pottery of Amathus:

Mais bientôt, les objets égyptiens influencent les artistes chypriotes. Nous croyons que le style d'Amathonte, créé sur la côte orientale (la plus rapprochée d'Égypte), dans la ville dont il porte le nom, s'explique en partie par cette influence.<sup>55</sup>

The motifs used for the painted decoration of the pottery from Amathus include a cock, lotus buds and papyrus blossoms, a fish, and a banqueting scene in a forest.

None of these motifs, however, necessarily suggests a strong Egyptian connection. The cock is not an animal particularly associated with Egypt.<sup>56</sup> Fish appear on pottery from the Paphos area in the eleventh century.<sup>57</sup> The banqueting scene has been plausibly taken as a direct imitation of a scene from an East Greek pot found in the same area.<sup>58</sup> The lotus buds and papyrus blossoms, although ultimately derived from Egypt, could just as easily have been taken over from the Levant.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>52</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Salamis* (London, 1969), 98–9; id., *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, iii (Nicosia, 1973), 123–7; pls. 132–5; colour pl. 1.

<sup>53</sup> A. Nunn, *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im Alten Orient* (Leiden, 1988), 102–41; on Phoenician wall-painting, see M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, 'Painting', in Moscati (n. 42), 448–55; E. Stern, 'New Types of Phoenician Style Decorated Pottery Vases from Palestine', *PEQ* 110 (1978), 12 n. 7; for a Hellenistic painted tomb from Tyre, see M. Dunand, 'Tombe peinte dans la campagne de Tyr', *BMB* 18 (1965), 5–51.

<sup>54</sup> Karageorghis, *Excavations* (n. 52), 127.

<sup>55</sup> *CCSF* (text vol.), 112.

<sup>56</sup> The cock is usually seen as an Iranian bird; see e.g. A. P. Kozloff (ed.), *Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection* (Cleveland, 1981), 28, no. 16; 111–12, no. 92. On the cock in Mesopotamia, note also *RIA* iv, 48–9, s.v. Hahn.

<sup>57</sup> See e.g. M. Iacovou, *The Pictorial Pottery of Eleventh Century BC Cyprus* (Göteborg, 1988), 68–9.

<sup>58</sup> J. des Gagniers, 'Une fête champêtre sur une amphore d'Amathonte' *RA* 1972, 53–6.

<sup>59</sup> On floral ornamentation in Phoenician art, see e.g. K. Galling, 'Beschriftete Bildsiegel des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. vornehmlich aus Syrien und Palästina', *ZDPV* 64 (1941), 149–50.

But it is the motif of the Hathor head that seems *prima facie* to suggest strong Egyptian influence (Pls. 21–3). As a decorative ornament, however, the Hathor head is known from the Cypro-Geometric period,<sup>60</sup> and although there is a gap in the evidence during much of the Cypro-Archaic period, its appearance in earlier contexts should serve as a warning against immediately assuming that a proliferation of the motif on the vases of Amathus necessarily results from an Egyptian military presence. Examples of such vases with archaeological contexts suggest they date to the last third of the sixth century, thus removing any connection between these vases and a presumed Egyptian domination by Amasis. Nor can the possibility be excluded that the Hathor-head motif derives directly from the Levant, rather than from Egypt. The motif is well attested among terracottas at the Phoenician colony of Kition,<sup>61</sup> and it also has some popularity as a Phoenician glyptic device.<sup>62</sup>

A number of capitals crowned with Hathor-heads are known from Cyprus (Pl. 22). They were often used as votives, although some examples would have had structural functions.<sup>63</sup> The inspiration for these may have come directly from Egypt, since no examples are, as yet, known from the Levant.<sup>64</sup> But it would not be surprising if Hathor-head capitals similar to the Cypriot ones were eventually to be found in the Levant, particularly since contemporary Egyptian examples seem somewhat different in style.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, of the examples of

<sup>60</sup> Note A. Hermay, 'Un nouveau chapiteau hathorique trouvé à Amathonte', *BCH* 109 (1985), 677–81.

<sup>61</sup> A. Caubet and M. Pic, 'Un culte hathorique', in *Archéologie au Levant: Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah* (Lyons, 1982), 246.

<sup>62</sup> e.g. J. Boardman, 'Scarabs and Seals: Greek, Punic, and Related Types', in R. D. Barnett and C. Mendleson (eds.), *Tharros* (London, 1987), 100; J. Boardman, *Escarabeos de Piedra, Procedentes de Ibiza* (Madrid, 1984), Lam. 15, no. 87; E. Gubel, '"Syro-Cypriote" Cubical Stamps: The Phoenician Connection', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 215, fig. 14.

<sup>63</sup> On the structural use of these capitals, see F. Alabe and T. Petit, 'Le Palais', *BCH* 114 (1990), 1003–5 and fig. 24.

<sup>64</sup> Examples cited in E. von Mercklin, *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin, 1962), 5–13; 19–22, are either from Egypt or Cyprus, with two examples from the Punic world. As the Punic capitals may have derived from the Cypriot ones, they cannot be taken as evidence for Phoenician usage. For a survey of surviving examples from Cyprus, see also Hermay (n. 60), 663–70 (Amathus, Kition, Tamassos, Paphos, Vouni); A. Hermay, *Amathonte*, ii (Paris, 1981), 70–1, nos. 75–8 for some fragments; A. Hermay et al., 'Rapport sur les travaux de l'école française à Amathonte de Chypre en 1987', *BCH* 112 (1988), 862–5 = A. Hermay, 'Le Culte d'Aphrodite à Amathonte', *RDAC* 1988/2, 106, pl. 32, no. 4; S. Sophocleous, *Atlas des représentations chypro-archaïques des divinités* (Göteborg, 1985), 126, pl. 31, no. 1 (Golgoi); 129–30, nos. 8–10, pl. 32, no. 4 (unprovenanced). See also P. Wagner, *Die ägyptische Einfluss auf die phönizische Architektur* (Bonn, 1980), 45–6; O. Masson and A. Hermay, 'Le Chapiteau hathorique de Paphos (Bapho, 1865)', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 5 (1986), 3–8; Alabe and Petit (n. 63), 1003–5, fig. 24.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. an Egyptian sistrum of the 26th dynasty in the shape of a Hathor-head capital: *Sotheby's, New York: Antiquities and Islamic Art*, June 23, 1989 (1989), no. 55.



Hathor-head capitals known from Cyprus, a significant number may be dated on either stylistic or stratigraphic grounds to the late Cypro-Archaic or early Classical period.<sup>66</sup> The others would probably fall broadly within the same chronological span.<sup>67</sup> It may be better, therefore, to take these capitals as indicative of close trade and contact between Amathus and Egypt, rather than as the result of military conquest or occupation.

#### STATUARY

A strong Cypriot presence in Naukratis may well have ensured some direct transmission of cultural influences between Egypt and Cyprus, just as Cypriot art seems to have influenced the East Greek artists. In East Greece and at Naukratis, a 'mixed style' of sculpture has been identified (Pl. 24).<sup>68</sup> This style seems in part Cypriot and in part East Greek. 'The earliest and strongest element seems to be the Cypriot, although the sculptures in the "mixed style" tend to be actually different from those found in Cyprus.'<sup>69</sup> Aside from the examples known from Naukratis, sculptures in this style are known from western Asia Minor, Rhodes, Samos, and Chios.<sup>70</sup> In the absence of epigraphical evidence, there is no way of knowing whether these were carved, in the main, by Cypriots working abroad, under the influence of East Greek traditions, or by East Greek sculptors who had observed Cypriot work. At the earliest, the style begins at the end of the seventh century BC, gradually giving way, in the middle of the sixth century, to a style more readily characterized as Greek.

By contrast, there is little about sculpture from Cyprus itself that can actually be shown to have been the result of direct Egyptian influence. Gjerstad assumed that Cypriot limestone or bronze statues representing male figures dressed in kilts patterned after the Egyptian *shenti*, and with head-dresses that resembled the Egyptian royal white crown, were based directly on Egyptian prototypes (Pls. 7; 11b).<sup>71</sup> Vermeule has shown,

<sup>66</sup> For stratified examples from Vouni in north-western Cyprus, see Wagner (n. 64), 45–6, nos. 39 and 41, with earlier bibliography. Hermery (n. 60), 657–99, and id., *Amathonte*, ii (n. 64), 70 and 73, have stylistic traits dating them to around 500 BC.

<sup>67</sup> e.g. Wagner (n. 64), 45, nos. 36 (Larnaka), 37 (Larnaka), 38; Hermery (n. 60), 668 (Tamassos), 670. Hermery, however, has also dated unstratified examples in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York to c. 570–60: Hermery (n. 60), 682.

<sup>68</sup> L. Budde and R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1964), 5–8.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 5 n. 5, with references; for other examples, see also A. Hermery, 'Sculptures "chypriennes" du Musée de l'Ermitage à Leningrad', *RDAC* 1991, 173–7.

<sup>71</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 466–9.

however, that Gjerstad's 'Cypro-Egyptian' sculptural style was, in fact, a manifestation of his 'Cypro-Greek' style.<sup>72</sup> Although the clothing of the figure may appear Egyptian, Vermeule argued, the style of the workmanship essentially reflected Hellenic influence. Markoe elaborated on this argument, by demonstrating that the male Cypriot statues in so-called Egyptian costume were based on 'New-Kingdom' models fashionable in sixth-century Phoenicia, whereas the contemporary sculptures of Egypt derived from 'Old-Kingdom' models.<sup>73</sup>

A fragmentary relief that seems to show an Egyptian double crown has been thought to provide evidence for an Egyptian occupation (Pl. 25):

Il est regrettable que ce relief soit aussi fragmentaire, car il est unique en son genre à Chypre: il a vraisemblablement été sculpté pour un personnage égyptien de haut rang mort à Amathonte et, comme le matériel trouvé dans la tombe semble dater du deuxième quart ou du milieu du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle, il est tentant de faire de cette œuvre un des rares témoignages de l'occupation égyptienne à Chypre.<sup>74</sup>

That the relief was cut for a high-ranking Egyptian living in Cyprus is not impossible, given the cosmopolitan character of the island. But by itself, this object cannot be made to bear the larger conclusion that there was an Egyptian occupation in the sixth century.

It might be argued that the appearance of metal votive statuettes in the Cypro-Archaic period and the practice of dedicating such objects in the local sanctuaries of the island had been learnt from Egypt, where a strong tradition of dedicating metal existed.<sup>75</sup> Similar locally produced metal votive figurines are not generally found in East Greece, Anatolia, or Mesopotamia at this time.<sup>76</sup> It may be, therefore, that, in Cyprus, the appearance of bronze votive statuettes in local sanctuaries (Pl. 11) stems from a strong Egyptian presence in the island.

But there is just enough evidence from Cyprus and the Near East to produce a counter-argument. At Ayia Irini and Kition, the bronze statuettes were found in levels that date prior to the end of the seventh

<sup>72</sup> C. C. Vermeule, 'Cypriote Sculpture, the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods: Towards a More Precise Understanding', *AJA* 78 (1974), 287–90.

<sup>73</sup> Markoe (n. 13), 111–22.

<sup>74</sup> Hermery, *Amathonte*, ii (n. 64), 67, no. 71; pl. 13.

<sup>75</sup> On metal statuary in Egypt, see, in general, G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewerke* (Glückstadt, Hamburg, and New York, 1937).

<sup>76</sup> For examples of typical Mesopotamian bronze figurines, usually representing demons, see E. A. Braun-Holzinger, *Figürliche Bronzen aus Mesopotamien* (Munich, 1984). For typical bronze figurines from East Greece, see e.g. C. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes* (Freiburg, 1986), 119–26. For Anatolian bronzes, see e.g. E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin, 1961), 23–70; 100–3.

or the beginning of the sixth century—in any event, before a supposed Egyptian domination.<sup>77</sup> The Canaanites and Phoenicians may have already been casting bronze statuettes from the early first millennium.<sup>78</sup> In Syria, examples of bronze statuettes from sites such as Tell Halaf, Carchemish, and Al Mina may be said, on stratigraphic grounds, to date to the eighth or seventh centuries.<sup>79</sup> If indeed the Cypriot fashion for dedicating metal statuary in the Cypro-Archaic period had been acquired from outside Cyprus, it is probably from coastal areas of the Near East that the island learned the practice.

In sum, then, such evidence as there is suggests that the political relationship between Amasis and Cyprus to which Herodotos alludes in 2. 182. 2 would have been established early in Amasis' reign. The Elephantine stele may be read as referring to conflict between Amasis and Cypriot soldiers in 570 BC, and the tablet of Nebuchadrezzar II may allude to an eventual partnership between the two by 567 BC. On current evidence, however, it is not possible to be more conclusive.

There can be no certainty, therefore, over the nature of the political relationship between Cyprus and Egypt. But there is no need to take Herodotos 2. 182. 2 literally, and on balance it seems likely that, through most of the sixth century, a mutually beneficial relationship existed between Egypt and Cyprus. This relationship need not have come to an end with Cyprus' entry into the Persian Empire around 525 BC, since, even under the Great King of Persia, Egypt remained an important economic and political power.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Ayia Irini: *SCE* ii, 749, no. 2029; 791, pl. 240, no. 5 (period 3); 726, no. 1479; 773, no. 2758; 791–2 (period 4); pl. 240, no. 6–7 (period 4). On the chronology of the different periods at Ayia Irini, see B. Leve, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (Dortmund, 1975), 84–92. Kition: V. Karageorghis, *Kition* (London, 1976), 111, pl. 89 and col. pl. 19; 109 for the archaeological context. See also A. T. Reyes, 'The Anthropomorphic Bronze Statuettes of Archaic Idalion, Cyprus', *BSA* 87 (1992), 243–57.

<sup>78</sup> P. R. S. Moorey and S. Fleming, 'Problems in the Study of Anthropomorphic Metal Statuary from Syro-Palestine before 330 BC', *Levant*, 16 (1984), 73–6.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> For an account of Egyptian history in the Persian period, see Lloyd (n. 4), 286–8.

## 5

## Cyprus and Persia

And now our island-dwelling friends  
Are fitting out our ships of war.

Osip Mandelstam, '1914' (1916; trans. R. Tracy; Collins Harvill edition)

THERE is now general agreement that, around 525 BC, shortly after the Phoenician states of the Levantine coast had joined the Persian Empire, the Cypriot kingdoms became part of the Empire as well.<sup>1</sup> It is generally agreed also that, once the Great King of Persia had incorporated Cyprus, he used the existing structures of local government to maintain informal control over the island, as he had done in other parts of the Near East.<sup>2</sup> But in 499 BC, the Cypriot kingdoms, with the exception of Amathus, participated in a revolt led by the Ionian Greek states against Persian rule. Eventually, however, the Cypriot kingdoms that had assisted the Greek states capitulated once more to the Persians.<sup>3</sup>

For the most part, this consensus of opinion is well-founded, and it is necessary here simply to survey briefly the details of the relationship between Cyprus and Persia from c. 525 to 499 BC, so far as they can be known. After 499, the kingdoms of Cyprus became caught up in the complexities of fifth-century Greek politics, as a result of their participation in the Ionian revolt. That period of Cypriot history is properly the subject of a separate study.

## The Cypriot Kings of the Sixth Century

Few of the names of the Cypriot kings who ruled in the last quarter of the sixth century are known. But Herodotos mentions a few in passing,

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 3. 19. 3; see, in general, H. J. Watkin, 'The Cypriote Surrender to Persia', *JHS* 107 (1987), 154–63, on the chronology.

<sup>2</sup> On the nature of Persian administrative policy in general, see C. Tuplin, 'The Administration of the Persian Empire', in I. Carradice (ed.), *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (Oxford, 1987), 111; *CAH* iv, 139–64.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 5. 104–16. On the history of Cyprus during the Persian period and after, see references cited below, n. 73.

and epigraphical and numismatic evidence may be used to fill in some gaps.

## HERODOTOS

In his account of the Ionian revolt, Herodotos records some of the Cypriot rulers who participated: Onesilos of Salamis, who had usurped the throne from his older brother Gorgos;<sup>4</sup> Aristokypros of Soloi;<sup>5</sup> and Stasanor of Kourion, who is described as *τύραννος* ('tyrant').<sup>6</sup> The father of Onesilos and Gorgos, is named as Chersis,<sup>7</sup> and the father of Aristokypros as Philokypros.<sup>8</sup> Stasanor's father, however, is not named.

Herodotos explicitly says that Philokypros ruled Soloi prior to his son, and it seems likely that, at some time in the last quarter of the sixth century, Chersis also preceded his sons as king of Salamis. Herodotos in addition recounts that Euelthon was ruler of Salamis when Queen Pheretima of Cyrene went there in order to plead for help in the restoration of her son, Arkesilas III, to the Cyrenaean throne.<sup>9</sup> The year of Pheretima's appeal remains uncertain, but it has been plausibly dated to c. 518/17 BC.<sup>10</sup> Chersis would then have succeeded Euelthon at some time after 518.

Herodotos also mentions that Timonax, son of Timagoras, sailed with the Persians against Greece in 480 BC.<sup>11</sup> It is a reasonable assumption that, at that time, Timonax, like Gorgos of Salamis, with whom he is paired in the same passage of Herodotos, was a ruler of a Cypriot kingdom in succession to his father. Timagoras would then have been

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. 5. 104; 5. 113; 7. 98; 8. 11 (mentioning a third brother, Philaon).

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 5. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> According to Hdt. 5. 104, Onesilos was the younger brother of Gorgos, king of the Salaminians. Their father was Chersis, son of Siromos, son of Euelthon. But if Euelthon were ruler in Salamis c. 518/17 BC (see below, n. 10), then succession to the throne of Salamis must have been fairly rapid, since Gorgos is king by 499 BC. This has led to the supposition that one of those named in Herodotos' genealogy did not actually rule (cf. e.g. R. W. Macan, *Herodotos: The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books*, i (London, 1895), 254), or else that the Phoenician name Siromos (i.e. Hiram) has been inadvertently included in the passage (cf. e.g. W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, ii (Oxford, 1912), 60–1). On the name 'Siromos,' see also below, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> Hdt. 5. 113 mentions that Philokypros was king of Cyprus when Solon visited the island, and Plu. *Sol.* 26 repeats the same tradition. But since Solon's visit is conventionally said to have occurred c. 590–580 BC, roughly a century before the Ionian revolt, Herodotos may have been wrong, and Philokypros was either not the father of Aristokypros or not king in the time of Solon. The *Vita Arati*, i (in J. Martin (ed.), *Scholia in Aratum Vetera* (Stuttgart, 1974), 7) names Kypranor as king when Solon came to Cyprus.

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 4. 162.

<sup>10</sup> On the chronology of Euelthon's reign, see B. M. Mitchell, 'Cyrene and Persia', *JHS* 86 (1966), 99–113.

<sup>11</sup> Hdt. 7. 98.

king around the end of the sixth century. Herodotos, however, fails to record the place of origin of Timonax and Timagoras.

## INSCRIPTIONS

Two dedicatory inscriptions from Paphos give the lineage of two kings who must have ruled before 498 BC, since the inscriptions were found under the siege-mound built up by the Persian army in that year, when it attacked the city-walls of the kingdom in an attempt to quell Paphian participation in the Ionian revolt.<sup>12</sup> The first inscription, from a limestone stele, is fragmentary, and reads as follows:<sup>13</sup>

- (1) ]-?-pa-po-pa-si-le-wo [δ] Πάφω βασιλῆΦος(ς)  
 (2) ]-re-te-o-se-i-ni-se κ]ρέτεος ἱνις  
 (3) ]-te-ka-te-sa-tu [τὸ(ν) βωμὸ(ν)(?) τὸ(ν)]δε καθήσ(σ)ατυ  
 [ ], king of Paphos,  
 [ k]retes' son,  
 [? this altar] he set up.

It is not possible to identify either the name of the Paphian king who made the dedication, or his father [ k]retes, nor can the chronology of the inscription be firmly established. But a date in the sixth century has been suggested on the basis of the style in which the Cypro-syllabic signs have been cut.<sup>14</sup>

The second inscription, on three stone blocks, is complete and provides more explicit information than the first:<sup>15</sup>

o-na-si-ka-ri-wo-se | to-pa-po-pa-si-le-wo-se | to-sa-ta-si  
 wo-se | to-pa-po-pa-si-le-wo-se sa-ta-si-pi-li-ta-u

ὈνασιχάρηΦος τῷ Πάφω βασιλῆΦος τῷ ΣτασίΦος τῷ Πάφω βασιλῆΦος  
 Στασιφιλῖδαν

A dedication of Onasicharis, king of Paphos, son of Stasis, king of Paphos, of the house of Stasiphilos.

The style of the lettering suggests that this text dates to the latter years of the sixth century BC and post-dates the first inscription.<sup>16</sup> But it is not possible to tell when, precisely, Onasicharis and Stasis, his father, ruled. Nothing else is known of the royal house of Stasiphilos.

<sup>12</sup> On the Paphian siege-mound and its chronological significance, see O. Masson and T. B. Mitford, *Les Inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos* (Constance, 1986), 7–8.

<sup>13</sup> Masson and Mitford (n. 12), 19–20, no. 1; 47, no. 38, have been taken as naming another Paphian king, but that interpretation is insecure. On the kings of Paphos in general, see also O. Masson, 'Kyprika XV–XVII', *BCH* 108 (1984), 71–7.

<sup>14</sup> On the date suggested, see SEG 20 (1964), 51, no. 175.

<sup>15</sup> Masson and Mitford (n. 12), 21–5, no. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 24–5.

The name 'Eteander', described as king of Paphos, appears on Cypriote syllabic inscriptions on two gold bracelets, allegedly from Kourion.<sup>17</sup> Myres suggested that the name referred to a sixth-century king,<sup>18</sup> a descendant of the Eteander mentioned as king of Paphos on the prism-inscription of Esarhaddon dated to 673/2 BC.<sup>19</sup> But there is nothing in either the style of the lettering or the form of the bracelets that firmly disallows a seventh-century date.<sup>20</sup>

A retrograde Cypriote-syllabic inscription on fragments of the rim of a silver bowl, allegedly found in Kourion, has been transliterated and translated as follows:<sup>21</sup>

ti-we-i-te-mi-wo-se | e-mi | to-pa-si-le-wa-ta-ti-[

Διφειθέμης ἡμι τῷ βασιλ . . .

I belong to DiFeithemis, a prince(?).

The bowl has been dated to the sixth century BC, but this chronology is by no means secure.<sup>22</sup> Nor can the reading be taken as entirely certain.<sup>23</sup> The inscription, however, may give the name of another member of the royal family of Kourion, perhaps an ancestor of Stasanor.<sup>24</sup>

#### COINAGE

The evidence of Cypriot coinage provides additional, if slight, information.<sup>25</sup> A numismatic issue with a bull on the obverse and an eagle's head on the reverse is usually attributed, perhaps erroneously, to Paphos.<sup>26</sup> Coins in this series are inscribed in the Cypriot syllabary with

<sup>17</sup> Masson, *ICS*, 192, no. 176, with bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914), 392-3.

<sup>19</sup> See Table 2, p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> See also Masson (n. 13), 75-6.

<sup>21</sup> T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971), 14-16, no. 3; Masson, *ICS*, 193-4, no. 178; 398e; 412, no. 178.

<sup>22</sup> Mitford's 6th-cent. dating of the inscription is based on an assessment of its epigraphical style (Mitford (n. 21), 15). Otherwise, there are no firm criteria by which the bowl-fragment may be dated.

<sup>23</sup> The reading is cited with approval in Masson, *ICS*, 412, no. 178.

<sup>24</sup> On the succession to Stasanor, note Mitford (n. 21), 377-82, no. 218; Masson, *ICS*, 412, no. 180b, for an inscription dating to the first half of the 5th cent. Mitford's reading of the inscription presupposes that the royal succession at Kourion passed collaterally to [ k]retes, son of Stasif [ ] (ruling c.450 BC).

<sup>25</sup> For the chronology of Cypriot coinage, I have relied largely on C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London, 1976), 299-311, and A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'Le Trésor de Larnaca (IGCH 1272) réexaminé' *RDAC* 1984, 140-61. A new study of Cypriot coinage is needed to complement G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus* (London, 1904).

<sup>26</sup> Kraay (n. 25), 302; cf., however, Masson, *ICS*, 116, which describes the attribution as '... incontestable'.

what might be the names of kings. The inscription *ba.a*, for *βάσιλεως* ('king') A-[ ] appears on early examples. Later ones in the same series are inscribed with *ba.pu* or *ba.pu-nu*, perhaps for *βάσιλεως* Pu-[ ] and *βάσιλεως* Pu-nu-[ ].<sup>27</sup> These coins date to c.480 BC, the earlier type to some time before then.<sup>28</sup> Masson has also read the name 'Siromos' on a coin tentatively assigned to late sixth-century Paphos and bearing as a device a bull with a human face.<sup>29</sup>

Coinage, probably from Lapethos and dating to around 500 BC, bears the name Demodokos, written in the Phoenician script.<sup>30</sup> The issue is attributed to Lapethos, since another Demodokos, perhaps a descendant, is explicitly called king in the fourth-century coinage of that kingdom.<sup>31</sup> At Idalion, the late sixth or early fifth-century coinage seems to be inscribed with *ba.ki*, probably indicating the king Ki-[ ].<sup>32</sup>

The evidence for the names of the Cypriot kings who ruled in the late sixth and early fifth centuries is summarized in Table 4, which gives some indication of those rulers who brought Cyprus into the Persian Empire. Their reasons for doing so may be conjectured. The expectation of economic benefit would probably have been a motivating factor. By 525 BC, Persia had effective control of the trade routes into the Near East, and it would have made political and economic sense for the Cypriot kings to have joined the Persian Empire, if only to ensure the island's continued prosperity.<sup>33</sup>

In 1. 143. 1, Herodotos noted that, with the emergence of the Persian Empire in 539 BC, the islanders still had nothing to fear since Persia was not a naval power, nor were the Phoenicians at that time in the service of the Great King.<sup>34</sup> But when the Phoenicians of the Near Eastern mainland entered the Persian Empire shortly before 525 BC,<sup>35</sup> the

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.; cf. Destrooper-Georgiades (n. 25), 149-54.

<sup>28</sup> For the chronology, cf. Kraay (n. 25), 302, and Masson, *ICS*, 117-18, nos. 19 and 20.

<sup>29</sup> O. Masson, 'Variétés chypriotes syllabiques', *Kadmos*, 29 (1990), 156, with Masson, *ICS*, 116-17, fig. 19. For the name 'Siromos' in Cyprus, cf. Hdt. 5. 104 and above, n. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Kraay (n. 25), 302-3; cf. Destrooper-Georgiades (n. 25), 145-8.

<sup>31</sup> Kraay (n. 25), 303; see also O. Masson and M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les phéniciens à Chypre* (Geneva and Paris, 1972), 98.

<sup>32</sup> Kraay (n. 25), 303-4; Destrooper-Georgiades (n. 25), 141-4; Masson, *ICS*, 250-1, no. 226.

<sup>33</sup> On the motives for Cypriot participation, see also Watkin (n. 1), 159 with n. 39.

<sup>34</sup> Herodotos appears to contradict himself at 1. 169. 1, which suggests that the islands surrendered to King Cyrus of Persia. But see How and Wells, i (n. 7) 129 ad loc. Cf. also Thuk. 1. 16, reporting that Darius made 'the islands' part of the Persian Empire.

<sup>35</sup> On the date of Phoenicia's entry into the Persian Empire, note Hdt. 3. 19. 3 and the discussion in Watkin (n. 1), 159-60. H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem, 1973), 346, prefers 538 BC, arguing from Ezra 3: 7. But on the difficulties of relying on Ezra as historical evidence, see R. H. Pfeiffer, 'The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah', in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ii (New

Cypriot rulers would have understood that the political and economic realities of the time entailed participation in the Empire, since much of the trade between Cyprus and the Near East was necessarily mediated through Phoenicia.<sup>36</sup>

### Political Organization

Herodotos records that under the administrative system of the Persian Empire, Cyprus became part of the fifth 'satrapy',<sup>37</sup> which included Syria and Palestine, and, as a whole, paid 350 talents to the king of Persia.<sup>38</sup>

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδηίου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἰκισε ἐπ' οὐροισι τοῖσι Κιλικίων τε καὶ Σύρων – ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλην μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρία ἢ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος.

From the city of Posideion, which Amphilochos, the son of Amphiareos, founded, until the boundaries of the Cilicians and the Syrians – beginning from this point until Egypt, except for the portion of the Arabians (for this was untaxed). And the tribute was 350 talents. And in this satrapy is all Phoenicia, and Syria which is called Palestine, and Cyprus. This is the fifth satrapy.

The accuracy of Herodotos' description of the Persian satrapies has been much discussed,<sup>39</sup> since there are discrepancies between his record and the geographical listings presented in the inscriptions of Darius I at Bisitun and the royal palace at Persepolis.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, there is no certainty that the administrative system described by Herodotos was an innovation of Darius I, as the historian implies; the allocation of Cyprus

York and Nashville, 1962), 217; P. R. Ackroyd, 'Problems in the Handling of Biblical and Related Sources in the Achaemenid Period', in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History*, iii. *Method and Theory* (Leiden, 1988), 37–43. Cf. also J. Elayi, *Sidon, cité autonome de l'empire perse* (Paris, 1989), 137–8.

<sup>36</sup> On Phoenician trade with Persia in the time of Darius I, see G. Wilhelm, 'La Première Tablette cunéiforme trouvée à Tyr', *BMB* 26 (1973), 35–9.

<sup>37</sup> Hdt. 3. 89–97 seems to use the Greek terms νόμος and σατραπεία interchangeably as equivalents for the Persian administrative term 'satrapy'.

<sup>38</sup> Hdt. 3. 91. 1.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (London, 1983), 77–85, for a general overview of the problems.

<sup>40</sup> See C. Fornara, *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome*, i. *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (Baltimore and London, 1977), 36, no. 34, for the inscription at Persepolis; E. N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version* (London, 1978), 54, section 6, for the Bisitun text. See also P. Calmeyer, 'Die sogenannte fünfte Satrapie und die achaimenidischen Documente', *Transeuphratène*, 3 (1990), 109–29.

to a 'fifth satrapy' could equally well have taken place in the time of Xerxes.<sup>41</sup> Equally unclear is the precise relation between Herodotos' 'fifth satrapy' and the administrative term 'the Land beyond the River [i.e., to the west of the Euphrates]', generally used in Persian inscriptions.<sup>42</sup>

But while the exact details of the Persian administration of Cyprus in the last quarter of the sixth century BC remain obscure, it is still a reasonably certain assumption that, within the island, the Cypriot kings maintained their autonomy. It is known that in distant parts of the Empire, such as Lycia and Phoenicia, the Persian king allowed local rulers to retain their authority.<sup>43</sup> Persian tolerance of local practices and political systems is attested epigraphically in western Asia Minor,<sup>44</sup> and an inscription of one such ruler suggests that he was happy to serve under the Persian king.<sup>45</sup> It is likely that similar conditions prevailed in Cyprus, but the Persian king might have made use of Phoenician intermediaries in order to maintain some sort of informal control over the island.

### The Archaeological Evidence for a Persian Presence

Two monumental buildings in Cyprus, however, have been seen as manifestations of a far more formal Persian presence in the island. The first is what has been identified as a palace at Vouni, near Soloi, in north-west Cyprus.<sup>46</sup> The second is the so-called Persian garrison commander's house on the outskirts of Palacpaphos, along the city walls.<sup>47</sup> The evidence linking either building to actual Persian occupation, however, is very slim.

<sup>41</sup> *CAH* iv, 153–4.

<sup>42</sup> On the term, see *CAH* iv, 153; M. Stolper, 'The Governor of Babylon and Across-the-River in 486 BC', *JNES* 48 (1989), 283–305, with id., 'Babylonian Evidence for the End of the Reign of Darius I: A Correction', *JNES* 51 (1992), 61–2.

<sup>43</sup> See C. Tuplin, 'Xenophon and the Garrisons of the Achaemenid Empire', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 20 (1987), 199; cf. A.-M. Collombier, 'Organisation du territoire et pouvoirs locaux dans l'île de Chypre à l'époque perse', *Transeuphratène*, 4 (1991), 21–43; Elayi (n. 35), 143; M. M. Austin, 'Greek Tyrants and the Persians', *CQ* 40 (1990), 289–306.

<sup>44</sup> Cf., e.g. R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1988), 20–2, no. 12 = Fornara (n. 40), 36–7, no. 35.

<sup>45</sup> F. M. Cross, 'A Recently Published Phoenician Inscription of the Persian Period from Byblos', *IEJ* 29 (1979), 40–4.

<sup>46</sup> *SCE* iii, 111–290.

<sup>47</sup> J. Schäfer, 'Ein "Perserbau" in Altpaphos?', *OpAth* 3 (1960), 155–75.

## THE PALACE AT VOUNI

A sequence of late Cypro-Archaic votive limestone statues and the presence of two Hathor-head capitals from the Classical levels indicate that certain parts of the complex, at least, had religious functions.<sup>48</sup> But the size of the building itself, unlike the small-scale religious architecture found elsewhere in the island,<sup>49</sup> suggests that the whole may have served as a palace (Fig. 11). It seems best, therefore, to retain that designation as a working assumption.

In essence, the architectural history of the building comprised two stages. The excavators dated the first 'from c. 500 BC to 450–440 BC'.<sup>50</sup> At that time, the palace consisted of an open central courtyard surrounded by various rooms. The second phase dated to the last half of the fifth century,<sup>51</sup> when a second courtyard, with additional rooms surrounding it, was added to the south-east of the complex.

On the basis of the changes in the ground plans of the palace, Gjerstad proposed that, at the time of the first stage, a pro-Persian king lived at the palace, whereas during the second, a pro-Hellenic ruler took over the premises.<sup>52</sup> In his conspectus of Cypriot architecture, Dikaïos reproduced Gjerstad's reasoning as follows:<sup>53</sup>

It appears that the pro-Persian king of Marion [near Vouni] was permitted to erect the palace . . . in order to overawe the town of Soli which was pro-Hellenic. It is to that factor that the architectural style of the first palace, mainly the 'liwan' type with an open court surrounded by rooms, is presumably due. However, following the reduction of Marion by Kimon (449 BC), the pro-Persian king was expelled and a philhellene appointed in his place, taking also charge of the Vouni Palace, which was thus rearranged to match the megaron architecture [of Greece].

To use architectural ground plans as a basis for reconstructing Cypriot political history is precarious at best, particularly since the style of the initial structure at Vouni is not at all typical of Persian palaces at Pasargadae, Persepolis, Susa, or Babylon. The ground plan of a central court surrounded by several rooms is more readily taken as traditional to

<sup>48</sup> P. Wagner, *Der ägyptische Einfluss auf die phönizische Architektur* (Bonn, 1980), 45–6, nos. 39 and 41 (Hathor-head capitals); SCE iii, pls. 48–52 (votive sculptures).

<sup>49</sup> See above, pp. 28–32.

<sup>50</sup> SCE iii, 286.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 286–8.

<sup>53</sup> P. Dikaïos, 'A Conspectus of Architecture in Ancient Cyprus', *Kyriakai Spoudai*, 24 (1960), 15.

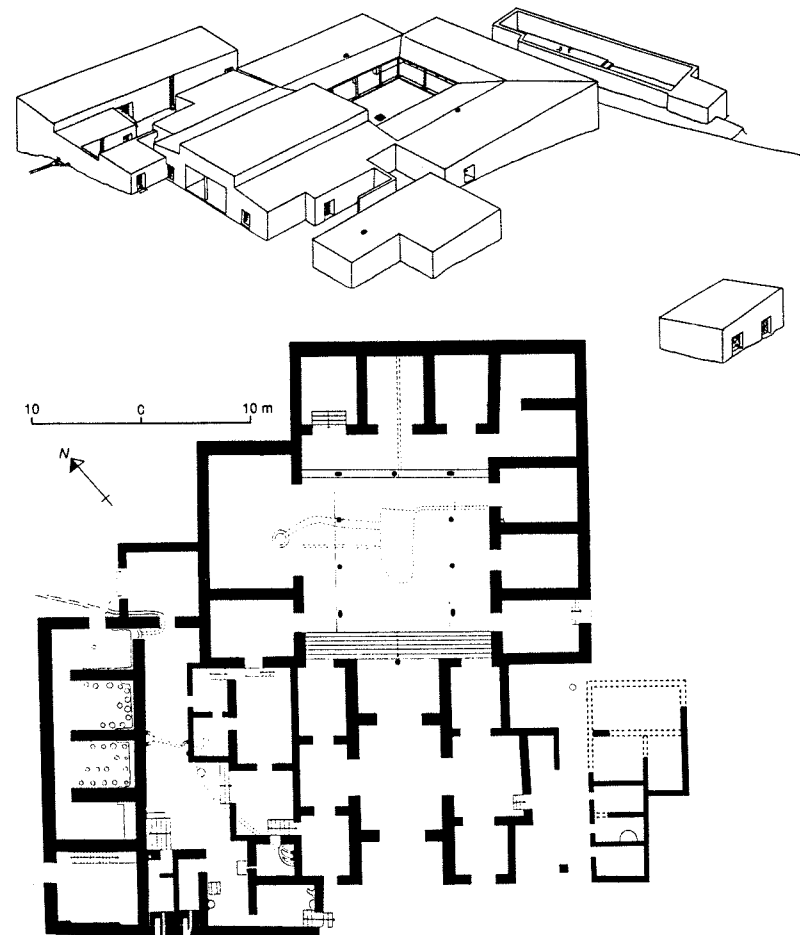


FIG. 11. The palace at Vouni, period I. Plan and hypothetical reconstruction. Scale approximate (After SCE iii, 191, fig. 120 and plan 26, appearing after p. 286)

Cyprus and other sites in the Near East outside of Persia.<sup>54</sup> It is doubtful too that an elevation of the later structure would have necessarily recalled, as Gjerstad insisted, Mycenaean architecture or the strict

<sup>54</sup> Cf. A. Mazar, 'Iron Age Fortresses in Judaeon Hills', *PEQ* 114 (1982), 87–109, for examples of fortress structures in Judaea, and *CAH* iv (pl. vol.), 25–39, for examples of typically Persian palace architecture.

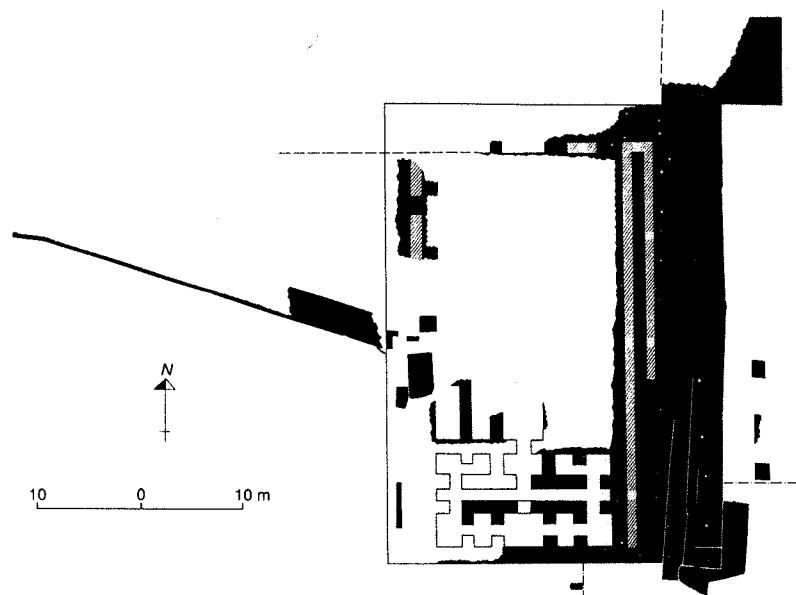


FIG. 12. Plan of the 'garrison commander's house' at Paphos (After J. Schäfer, *OpAth* 3 (1960), Abb. 2, Plan 1)

conventions of mainland Greek temple-building.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the style of the ashlar masonry of the later building period is that of the 'header-stretcher' type, probably introduced into Cyprus from the Levant.<sup>56</sup>

#### THE 'GARRISON COMMANDER'S HOUSE' IN PAPHOS

It is well established that, in the Near East, the Persian army set up garrisons and forts in order to maintain control over the Empire.<sup>57</sup> A monumental structure built against the inner face of the city walls at Paphos was excavated in 1952 and 1953, and, at that time, the excavators tentatively suggested that the building was, in fact, the residence of a Persian garrison commander, in view of what then seemed to be

<sup>55</sup> For an acute discussion of Gjerstad's problematic use of the architectural remains at Vouni as a basis for reconstructing Cypriot history, see F. G. Maier, 'Factoids in Ancient History: The Case of Fifth-Century Cyprus', *JHS* 105 (1985), 36–7; id., 'Palaces of Cypriot Kings' in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London, 1989), 18 with n. 24.

<sup>56</sup> I. Sharon, 'Phoenician and Greek Ashlar Construction Techniques at Tel Dor, Israel', *BASOR*, no. 267 (August 1987), 35 and 36–9, for a discussion of the cultural origins of this building technique.

<sup>57</sup> Tuplin (n. 43), *passim*, for the textual and archaeological evidence.

evidence for Persian influence in the architecture (Fig. 12).<sup>58</sup> Maier, however, has modified this conclusion slightly and suggested that the building was home to a Paphian king who had built a palace in imitation of Achaemenid models.<sup>59</sup>

The argument for Persian influence on this building rested on the symmetry of the ground plan and the carefulness of the stonework.<sup>60</sup> The symmetry, however, is uncertain, since the structure remains only partly excavated, and much of the ground plan had to be restored.<sup>61</sup> Symmetry and carefully executed stone masonry alone, moreover, are not enough to define Persian architecture,<sup>62</sup> and evidence for multiple columns, sometimes said to be 'the most characteristic feature of Achaemenian architecture',<sup>63</sup> is lacking. It is not possible, then, to define the purpose of the building, nor can it even be dated with any precision within the sixth or early fifth centuries.<sup>64</sup> But as a monumental structure, over 40 m. long, the building can perhaps be seen as part of what seems to have been a general upsurge in the construction of large-scale buildings throughout the Levant in Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid times.<sup>65</sup>

In two passages, however, Diodoros recorded the presence of Persian garrisons in Cyprus. In 11. 44. 2, he simply noted their existence in the island by 478 BC:

πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον ἐπλευσε καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἔτι φρουρὰς ἐχούσας Περσικὰς ἡλευθέρωσε.

First, then, he [i.e., Pausanias, leader of the Greek fleet] sailed to Cyprus and freed those cities which still had Persian garrisons.

In 12. 4. 1, he specifically mentions one at Salamis in 450 BC:

ἐν δὲ τῇ Σαλαμῖνι Περσικῆς φρουρᾶς οὐσης ἀξιολόγου . . .

And in Salamis, there was an important Persian garrison . . .

<sup>58</sup> Schäfer (n. 47), 174.

<sup>59</sup> Maier, 'Factoids' (n. 55), 33 n. 7; id., 'Palaces' (n. 55), 17.

<sup>60</sup> Schäfer (n. 47), 174.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. the actual state plan of the building with the restored plan: Schäfer (n. 47), Abb. 2 and 3, between pp. 158 and 159.

<sup>62</sup> Schäfer's comparison between the building at Paphos and the Treasury of Darius (Schäfer (n. 47), 174) at Persepolis is misleading, since the plan of the latter structure lacks the symmetry proposed for the Paphian one. Cf. the plan of the Treasury in M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1990), 218.

<sup>63</sup> H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 357; see also C. Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae* (Uppsala, 1970), 103; D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978), 11–12, which notes, in addition, that symmetry is not typical of Iranian architecture.

<sup>64</sup> Schäfer (n. 47), 169–75.

<sup>65</sup> On the apparent increase in building activity in the Near East at this time, see e.g. M. Dunand, 'Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Byblos en 1964', *BMB* 19 (1966), 95–101.

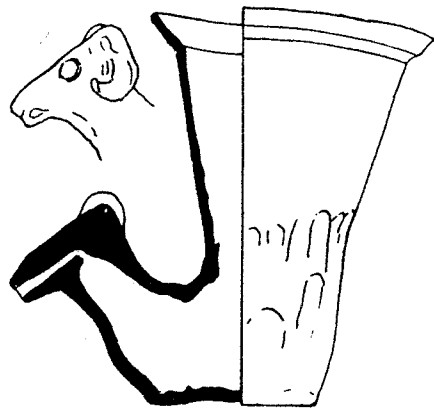


FIG. 13. Rhyton in the shape of a ram's head, from Ayia Irini (Plain White V ware). Ht. 0.175 m. (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet A. I. 2654. After SCE iv.2, fig. 57, no. 17)

It is not certain that Diodoros' sources for these two passages were reliable.<sup>66</sup> But even if the presence of these garrisons in Cyprus is correctly reported, it is still not possible to tell when they were established. They may have been set up as a result of Cypriot participation in the Ionian revolt, and need not have been a feature of the political landscape of Cyprus when the island first became part of the Persian Empire.

Neither the palace at Vouni, therefore, nor the so-called 'Persian garrison commander's house' at Paphos can be taken as evidence of strong administrative control over the island prior to the Ionian revolt. Indeed, there is little in the archaeological record that may be said to reflect direct Persian influence in the late sixth or early fifth century.<sup>67</sup> The appearance of animal-shaped rhyta in Cyprus (Fig. 13) may have resulted from direct contact with Persia, but these are few, and the influence may have been mediated through Palestine, where a number

<sup>66</sup> Cf. R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 482 ('... may be no more than Ephoran rationalism').

<sup>67</sup> Cf. T. Petit, 'Présence et influence perse à Chypre', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History*, vi. *Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden, 1991), 161–78. For the contrary view, see e.g. CCSF (text vol.), 111–12.

<sup>68</sup> P. R. S. Moorey, 'Iranian Troops at Deve Hüyük in Syria in the Earlier Fifth Century BC', *Levant*, 7 (1975), 112–13 and n. 26, for Cypriot examples; for examples from Palestine, see E. Stern, *The Material Culture of the Bible in the Persian Period* (Warminster, 1985), 136.

of examples, are known.<sup>68</sup> A few gems with devices cut in the 'Achaemenid-court style' are also said to have been found in Cyprus (Pl. 26).<sup>69</sup>

In 499 BC, Cyprus became caught up in the Ionian revolt. Why the Cypriot kings, with the exception of the king of Amathus, should have sided with the Greek states against Persia is difficult to explain. Cypriot participation in the revolt is regularly seen as part of the Hellenic struggle for *isonomia* or political equality against the barbarian tyranny of Persia.<sup>70</sup> But it is worth noting also that Herodotos' telling of the Ionian revolt, defective as it is, accounts for Cypriot participation, not because of the tension between Greek democracy and Persian kingship, but because individual kingdoms became entangled in the domestic politics of the kingdom of Salamis. Onesilos, Herodotos says, deposed his older brother Gorgos, king of Salamis, by using, in some way, the Ionian revolt as a pretext for his actions, and then *he* persuaded the other kingdoms to join the Ionians.<sup>71</sup> Amathus, presumably expecting an eventual Persian victory, refused to participate.<sup>72</sup> But whatever the precise reasons for Cypriot participation in the revolt, the consequences proved disastrous for the island. For the next fifty years, Athens and Persia would vie for its control.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> On the Achaemenid Court Style in general, see B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, iii, (Oxford, 1988), 66–8 and 82, n. 567, for a Cypriot example; J. Boardman, 'Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire', *Iran*, 8 (1970), 19–45, esp. 44, no. 168, for another example from Cyprus.

<sup>70</sup> For a general history of the Ionian revolt, see *CAH* iv, 461–90; P. Tozzi, *La rivolta ionica*, (Pisa, 1978).

<sup>71</sup> Hdt. 5. 104.

<sup>72</sup> On the refusal of Amathus to participate, see also above, p. 17.

<sup>73</sup> For an account of Cypriot history in the 5th cent. see Meiggs (n. 66), 477–86. Note also M. Yon, 'Chypre entre la Grèce et les perses', *Ktema*, 6 (1981), 49–56; Maier, 'Factoids' (n. 55), 32–9; P. J. Stylianou, *The Age of the Kingdoms: A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Nicosia, 1989); J. Wiesehöfer, 'Zypern unter persischer Herrschaft', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History*, iv. *Centre and Periphery* (Leiden, 1990), 239–52.



## *Internal Relations*

Thus, weary of the world, away she hies,  
 And yokes her silver doves; by whose swift aid  
 Their mistress mounted, through the empty skies  
 In her light chariot quickly is convey'd,  
 Holding their course to Paphos, where their queen  
 Means to immure herself, and not be seen.

William Shakespeare, 'Venus and Adonis' (1594)

THE tendency of archaeologists and historians of Cyprus to focus on the foreign 'dominations' of the island during the Cypro-Archaic period has encouraged the study of external relations, rather than internal ones. As Gjerstad saw, however, it is necessary to identify patterns of contact within Cyprus, between different local kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> Gjerstad felt that he could do little in this regard, however, and since the results of an extensive programme of clay analysis on Iron Age Cypriot pottery are not yet to hand,<sup>2</sup> it is possible here only to make a start toward identifying the island's main internal relations.

As a way of identifying patterns of contact within Cyprus, this chapter uses what few written sources there are pertaining to the Cypro-Archaic period and looks at the distribution across the island of objects belonging to particular ceramic and glyptic groups or workshops. The term 'group' or 'workshop' is used here simply as shorthand for a set of archaeological objects so similar in appearance that in all likelihood they were either made in one place and then transported elsewhere within Cyprus, or else they were made in different places that were in close contact with one another.

The term 'contact' is also shorthand. A certain amount of archaeological theory has been developed in recent years to determine, as explicitly as possible from artefactual analysis, the modes of interaction between

<sup>1</sup> E. Gjerstad, 'Pottery Types: Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Classical', *OpAth* 3 (1960), 106-7.

<sup>2</sup> On the development of such a programme, see R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies* (Athens, 1986), 530-3, and 609-13 for archaeological comment by H. W. Catling.

different places, as well as the social agents involved in such interaction.<sup>3</sup> In Cyprus, however, most of the diagnostic ceramics and glyptics are without proper archaeological contexts, making it difficult to reconstruct the precise mechanisms by which an object characteristic of one part of Cyprus may have found its way to another. The same problems hold when the external relations of the island are considered. Trade, war, and gift-exchange, for example, may all account for a particular pattern of distribution. These difficulties will eventually be removed, as excavation and scientific analysis proceed in Cyprus. For the moment, however, it is necessary to use the vague term 'contact'.

Accordingly, the limitations of the methodology employed in this chapter and the next are clear. It cannot be claimed, moreover, that the patterns of distribution which emerge in this study are the only ones that there are. They are simply the ones archaeologically visible.

For the most part, this study is based on ceramic and glyptic groups, since a certain amount of information is currently available on them. Regional aspects of the production of terracotta and stone sculptures have only recently begun to receive attention, and consequently, little, for the moment, can be said of these with any confidence. Some use, however, has been made here of those sculptural groups that have been identified. Ascriptions of vase-paintings to the hands of particular artists—largely the work of Karageorghis, des Gagniers, and Benson<sup>4</sup>—have been accepted as an initial basis for analysis.

### The Written Evidence

The written evidence for internal travel within Cyprus is poor at best. In his account of the Ionian revolt, Herodotos records that Onesilos, who usurped the throne of Salamis, persuaded all Cypriots to rebel against Persia. The forces of Salamis later besieged Amathus, which had refused to revolt (5. 104–5), and fought alongside the armies of Soloi (5. 110. 1)

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. P. S. Wells, *Culture Contact and Culture Change* (Cambridge, 1980); id., 'Contact and Change: An Example on the Fringes of the Classical World', *World Archaeology*, 12 (1980), 1–10; id., 'Cross-Cultural Interaction and Change in Recent Old World Archaeology', *American Antiquity*, 54 (1989), 66–83; W. Y. Adams, 'Archaeological Classification: Theory versus Practice', *Antiquity*, 62 (1988), 40–56; C. Beck and G. T. Jones, 'Bias and Archaeological Classification', *American Antiquity*, 54 (1989), 244–62; D. W. Read, 'Intuitive Typology and Automatic Classification: Divergence or Full Circle?', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 8 (1989), 158–88.

<sup>4</sup> See, in general, the CCSF volumes, and the following works by J. L. Benson: 'Birds on Cypro-Geometric Pottery', in N. Robertson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments* (Park Ridge, NJ, 1975), 129–50; 'A Problem in Orientalizing Cretan Birds', *JNES* 20 (1961), 73–84; 'A Cypro-Geometric Workshop Reconsidered', in *Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios* (Nicosia, 1979), 129–38; 'The Amathus Workshop', *RDAC* 1982, 138–43.

and Kourion (5. 113) against the Persians. Whether such pairings normally held outside the exceptional circumstance of the Ionian revolt is difficult to know, nor is it clear how, precisely, Onesilos contacted all Cypriots (πάντας Κύπριους).

An inscription scratched on to the exterior face of a Red-Slip bowl found at the temple of Astarte in Kition has been interpreted as showing that a man from Tamassos travelled to the temple in fulfilment of a vow he had made. The bowl dates to around 800 BC. The reading 'Tamassos' in the inscription, however, is uncertain.<sup>5</sup>

Another inscription, written in the distinctive Paphian syllabary and assigned on the basis of its archaeological context to the late Cypro-Archaic period, is known from Marion.<sup>6</sup> It tells of Onasias, perhaps a Paphian, who dedicated a funerary stele to his parents in Marion. In the Cypro-Archaic period, the syllabaries used in Paphos and Marion are largely different, and the use of the Paphian syllabary on an inscription found at Marion seems to attest to a certain amount of contact between the two areas.<sup>7</sup> Not surprisingly, the Paphian syllabary also has particular signs in common with the syllabary of Kourion, given the proximity between these two areas.<sup>8</sup>

Cypro-Archaic inscriptions on two gold bracelets<sup>9</sup> and on a silver bowl<sup>10</sup> identify these objects as dedications made by Paphian kings, allegedly at Kourion. They were said by Cesnola to have been part of a 'treasure hoard'.<sup>11</sup> It is indeed likely that objects in Cesnola's 'Kourion Treasure' had been culled together from tombs in the Kourion area. Ultimately, however, the uncertainty over the provenance means that these particular inscriptions cannot be taken as firm evidence for links between Kourion and the royal house at Paphos.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See M. G. Amadasi Guzzo and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition*, iii (Nicosia, 1977), 149–60, with epigraphical commentary and earlier bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> Masson, *ICS*, 180, no. 167, with bibliography; 410, no. 167.

<sup>7</sup> See T. B. Mitford, *Studies in the Signaries of South-Western Cyprus* (London, 1961), 5–6, no. 4; Masson, *ICS*, 60 with n. 3.

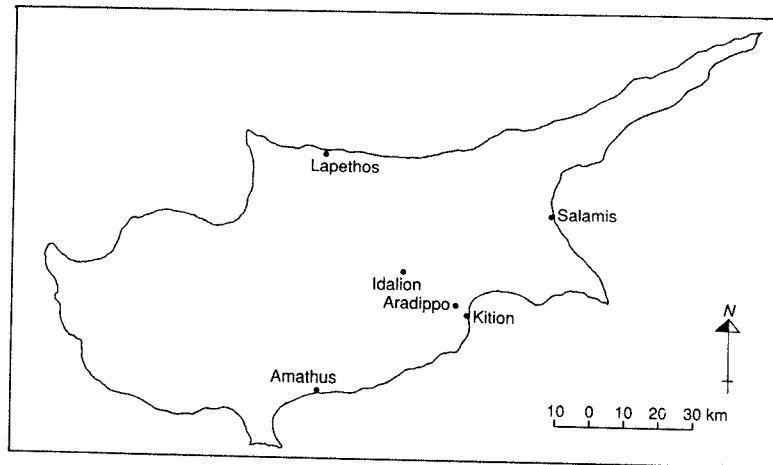
<sup>8</sup> Masson, *ICS*, 60 with n. 4; see also Mitford (n. 7), 25.

<sup>9</sup> Masson, *ICS*, 192, no. 176; 398 (e); 411, with bibliography. See also above, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> On the inscription, see above, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> On the problem of the provenance of Cesnola's 'Kourion Treasure', see G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, Calif., and Los Angeles, 1985), 176–7 n. 19; O. Masson, 'Cesnola et le trésor de Curium', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 1 (1984), 16–25; 2 (1984), 3–15; id., 'Kypriaka XV–XVII', *BCH* 108 (1984), 77–83. For Cesnola's own account, see L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus* (London, 1877), 302–37, and 353–89 for comments by the archaeologist C. W. King.

<sup>12</sup> Mitford suggested the bracelets may have been brought to Kourion as 'loot from Paphos, when that city was taken by storm in 498 BC': T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971), 10.



Distribution Map 1

### Archaeological Groups

In order to expand upon the evidence of the written sources, certain sculptural, ceramic, and glyptic groups may be considered in turn, in order to expand upon the written sources.

#### SCULPTURE

Little systematic work has, as yet, been published on the identification of well-defined groups of Cypro-Archaic sculpture. The few studies which have appeared focus on votive figurines from Kition, Kourion, and Salamis.

#### (a) Kition (Distribution Map 1)

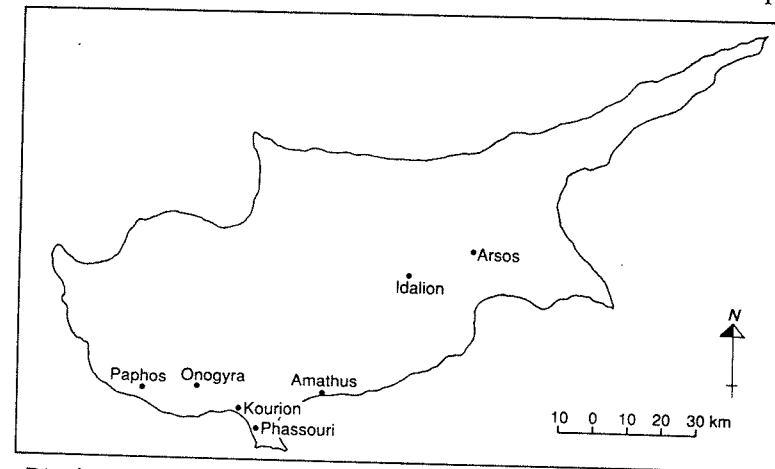
In their studies of the terracottas from Kition, Yon and Caubet noted similarities between the figurines from Kition and those from Idalion.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, a stylistic closeness has been observed between the limestone sculptures of Kition and those of Idalion.<sup>14</sup> A study of the moulded terracotta sculptures from Aradippo (north-west of Kition), Idalion, and Arsos has also indicated regular exchanges between these areas.<sup>15</sup>

Yon and Caubet noted, in addition, the presence of terracotta votive

<sup>13</sup> M. Yon and A. Caubet, 'Ateliers de figurines à Kition', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London, 1989), 29–31, on their Group 1.

<sup>14</sup> P. Gaber-Saletan, *Regional Styles in Cypriote Sculpture: The Sculptures from Idalion* (New York and London, 1986), 51.

<sup>15</sup> G. Schmidt, *Samos*, vii (Bonn, 1968), 127–30.



Distribution Map 2

figurines in Lapethos that were probably manufactured in Kition.<sup>16</sup> Among the terracottas found at Kition, they identified a terracotta figurine of a naked goddess and one of a horseman as imports from Amathus.<sup>17</sup> A terracotta model of warriors riding in a chariot was seen as an import from Salamis, ultimately, perhaps, coming from a Phoenician site such as Tyre.<sup>18</sup>

#### (b) Kourion (Distribution Map 2)

Published in 1955, the pioneering work of Young and Young on the terracotta figurines from Kourion<sup>19</sup> now requires revision, but theirs remains the most extensive study of the regional aspects of Cypriot terracotta-work. By studying the different moulds in use at Kourion and subjecting the figurines to some rudimentary clay-analysis, the Youngs identified certain votive figurines found in the Archaic sanctuary at Kourion as products of Amathus, Arsos, Idalion, and Paphos.<sup>20</sup> In turn, they attributed to Kourion the manufacture of terracotta figurines found in the neighbouring towns of Phassouri and Onogrya, and in the more distant areas of Idalion and Paphos.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> M. Yon and A. Caubet, 'Un culte populaire de la grande déesse à Lapithos', *RDAC* 1988/2, 13.

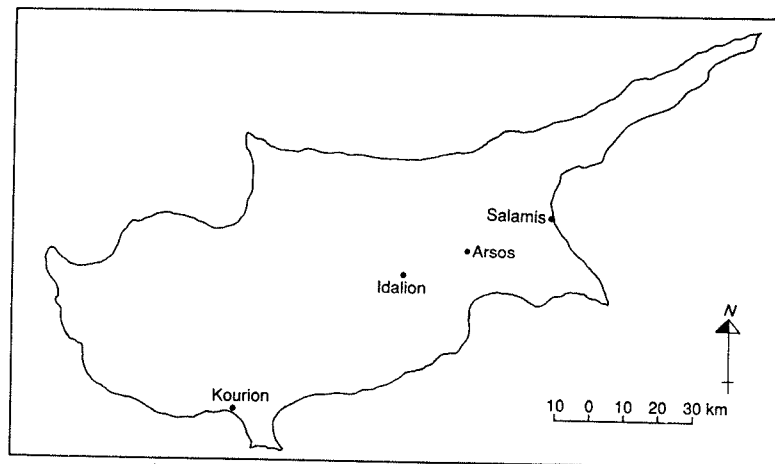
<sup>17</sup> Yon and Caubet (n. 13), 32.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 32, 35. See also J. Crouwel, 'A Group of Terracotta Chariot Models—Cypriote or Phoenician', in F. Vandebaele and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Cypriote Terracottas* (Brussels and Liège, 1991), 115–30.

<sup>19</sup> J. H. Young and S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* (Philadelphia, 1955).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 9–11.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.



Distribution Map 3

(c) *Salamis (Distribution Map 3)*

The Youngs did not note contact between Kourion and points further east than Arsos. Yon, however, has suggested a connection between a sixth-century mould identified by the Youngs at Kourion and one used for two terracotta figurines from an Archaic deposit at Salamis.<sup>22</sup> In addition, she has seen stylistic similarities between the terracotta figurines from Salamis and those from Arsos and Idalion.<sup>23</sup>

The evidence from other Cypriot sites is somewhat more ambiguous and difficult to interpret. Certain stylistic similarities have been noted between figurines from Tamassos, Kourion, and Kazaphani.<sup>24</sup> Karageorghis has also compared the Kazaphani figurines to those from Patriki and Ayia Irini.<sup>25</sup> Terracotta figurines from Kythrea (Chytroi) are currently under investigation; they seem closely affiliated with terracotta figurines from the area of Morphou.<sup>26</sup> In the Iron Age, the production of terracotta wall-brackets seems largely to have been confined to the eastern half of Cyprus.<sup>27</sup> But what is needed is a close study of impressed designs on

<sup>22</sup> M. Yon, *Salamine de Chypre*, v (Paris, 1974), 95–6, nos. 145–6.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 98.

<sup>24</sup> H. Cassimatis, 'Terres cuites chypriotes à Dublin', *RDAC* 1986, 173–82.

<sup>25</sup> V. Karageorghis, 'A "Favissa" at Kazaphani', *RDAC* 1978, 185–90.

<sup>26</sup> A. Caubet, 'Recherches sur les ateliers de terres cuites de la partie occidentale de Chypre', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur (n. 18), 109–14.

<sup>27</sup> A. Caubet and M. Yon, 'Deux appliques murales chypro-géométrique au Louvre', *RDAC* 1974, 112–31; see also V. Karageorghis, 'Three Iron-Age Wall Brackets from Cyprus', *RSF* 3 (1975), 161–7; id., 'Kyprika VI', *RDAC* 1981, 151–3 for an example from Amathus.

terracotta figurines, in order to determine accurately the existence of local workshops and the extent to which their products travelled.<sup>28</sup>

## CERAMICS

Gjerstad saw that, in general, vases produced in the eastern half of Cyprus relied on figured decoration, whereas those produced in the western half tended to rely on geometric ornamentation, using, in particular, concentric circles.<sup>29</sup> On present evidence, the distinction still holds, although, as one might have expected, it is not possible to draw a precise line of demarcation through the island. It is now clear that pictorial vases could be produced in the west,<sup>30</sup> and the geometric decoration characteristic of 'western-style' Cypriot pottery is reported as far east as Meniko,<sup>31</sup> for example, and Aradippo.<sup>32</sup>

To identify patterns of contact within the island, certain Cypro-Archaic ceramic groups are of particular diagnostic value. These may be reviewed first, and then, to approach the problem somewhat more speculatively, information derived from these ceramic groups is supplemented by an examination of the distribution, around the island, of vase-paintings that have been attributed to the hands of particular artists.

(a) *The group of 'Fish-Cups' (Distribution Map 4)*

A group of Cypriot, Black-on-Red-ware cups uses outline drawings of fish as the principal decorative motif (Pl. 27). These cups are distinctive to the area around Paphos.<sup>33</sup> Aside from Kouklia, examples are known from nearby Tala<sup>34</sup> and Soloi.<sup>35</sup>

(b) *The 'Figure-on-the-Shoulder' jugs (Distribution Map 5)*

The south-west of Cyprus produced a series of jugs, usually of Black-on-Red, Bichrome, or Bichrome-Red ware, decorated with

<sup>28</sup> As noted in the review of Schmidt (n. 15) by R. V. Nicholls in *CR* 85 (1971), 146.

<sup>29</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 461.

<sup>30</sup> Note below, p. 114.

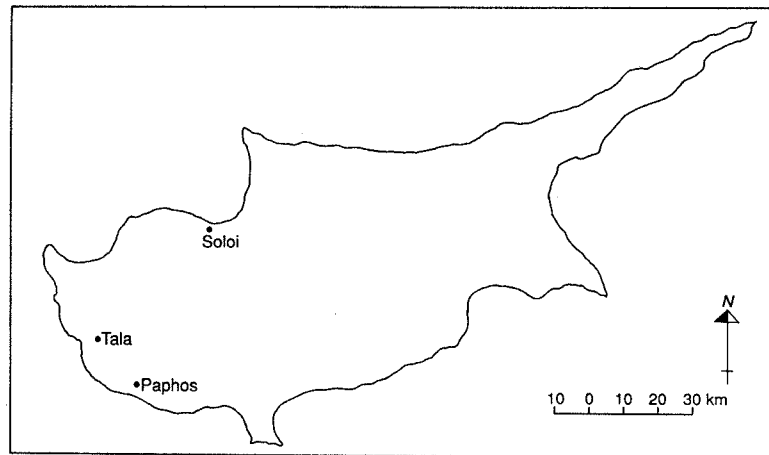
<sup>31</sup> See e.g. V. Karageorghis, *Two Cypriot Sanctuaries of the End of the Cypro-Archaic Period* (Rome, 1977), 32, no. 85, pl. 14, fig. 9.

<sup>32</sup> A. Papageorgiou, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1989', *BCH* 114 (1990), 944, fig. 81.

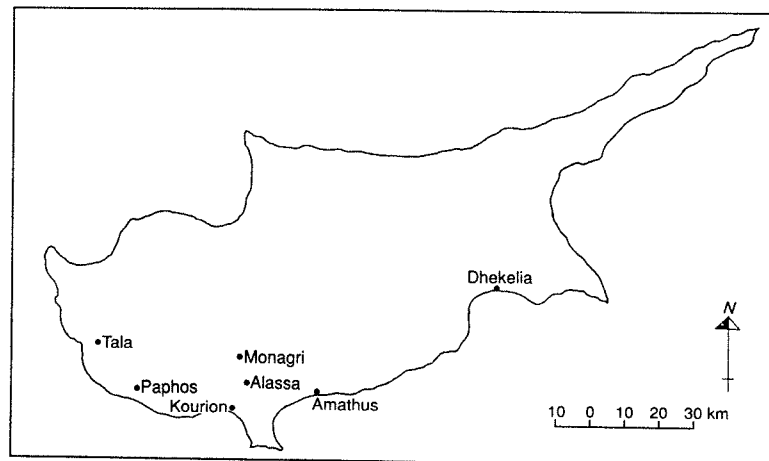
<sup>33</sup> See e.g. V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1983', *BCH* 108 (1984), 897–9, no. 13, fig. 13; id., 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1986', *BCH* 111 (1987), 667–8, fig. 10; id., 'A Cypro-Archaic I Tomb at Palaepaphos-Skales', *RDAC* 1987, 88, 90, no. 1, pl. 20; *CCSF* (text vol.), 62, nos. 8–11; (pl. vol.), 234–7, nos. xxiv.a.8–xxiv.a.11; (suppl. vol.), 74, no. sxxiv.1.

<sup>34</sup> *CCSF* (pl. vol.), 234, no. xxiv.a.8.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 237, no. xxiv.a.11.



Distribution Map 4

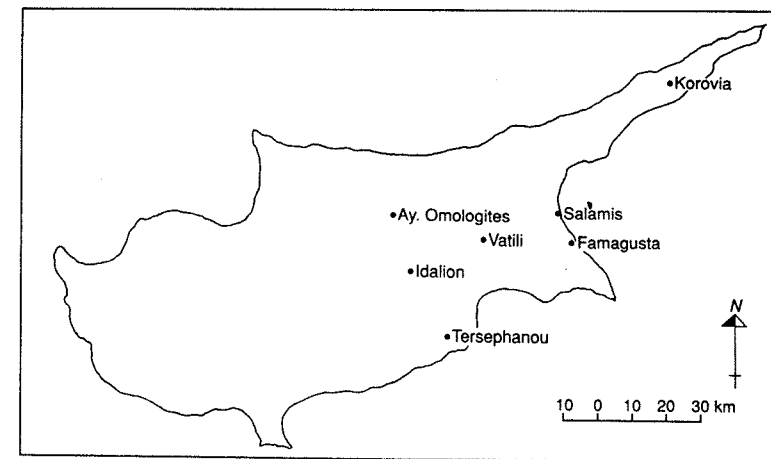


Distribution Map 5

large and small concentric circles, and a small animal figure painted in outline or in silhouette high on the shoulder (Pl. 28). Often the figure is framed by horizontal and vertical lines.<sup>36</sup> Known provenances for this group include Alassa-Kampos (near Kourion),<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> For a provisional listing of vases in this group, see R. S. Morris and D. J. Symons, 'Four Figured Style Vases from Cyprus in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery', *RDAC* 1985, 189–90. Note also, for unprovenanced examples, *CCSF* (pl. vol.), 39, no. III.7; 168, no. XVI.b.16; 189, no. XVII.22; 212, no. XVIII.13; 213, no. XVIII.14; 318, no. XXV.b.30; 320, no. XXV.b.32; (suppl. vol.), 44, no. SXVI.6; 46, no. SXVI.8; 53, no. SXVII.7; 56, no. SXVII.9.

<sup>37</sup> S. Hadjissavas, 'Two Cypro-Archaic I Tombs at Alassa-Kampos', *RDAC* 1989, 98–9, no. 27, fig. 3.



Distribution Map 6

Amathus,<sup>38</sup> Dhekelia (Kition area),<sup>39</sup> Kouklia,<sup>40</sup> Kourion,<sup>41</sup> Monagri (near Amathus),<sup>42</sup> and Tala (Paphos area).<sup>43</sup> Thus the distribution of the group extends along the southern coast, into the central areas of Cyprus.

(c) *The Palm-Leaf workshop (Distribution Map 6)*

During the Cypro-Archaic period, a ceramic workshop that produced pots decorated with a palm-leaf motif may have been based somewhere in the Famagusta area, perhaps in Salamis (Pl. 29).<sup>44</sup> Its products reached Ayioi Omologites (Nicosia area),<sup>45</sup> Idalion,<sup>46</sup> Korovia (Karpas area),<sup>47</sup> Vatiili (between Nicosia and Famagusta),<sup>48</sup> and Tersephanou in the area around Kition.<sup>49</sup> The distribution seems largely confined to the south-east.

<sup>38</sup> *CCSF* (pl. vol.) 319, no. XXV.b.31; cf. 321, no. XXV.b.34.

<sup>39</sup> *CCSF* (suppl. vol.) 41, no. SXVI.3.

<sup>40</sup> *CCSF* (pl. vol.), 27, no. II.3; V. Karageorghis, 'Palaepaphos' (n. 33), 88, 91, no. 14, pl. 26.

<sup>41</sup> *CCSF* (pl. vol.) 169, no. XVI.b.19.

<sup>42</sup> *CCSF* (suppl. vol.) 45, no. SXVI.7.

<sup>43</sup> *CCSF* (pl. vol.) 149, no. XV.5.

<sup>44</sup> R. S. Morris, 'The Palm Leaf Workshop', *RDAC* 1987, 127–39. Note also R. L. Scheurleer, 'Five Terracottas from Cyprus', in Vandenberghe and Laffineur (n. 18), 69–70.

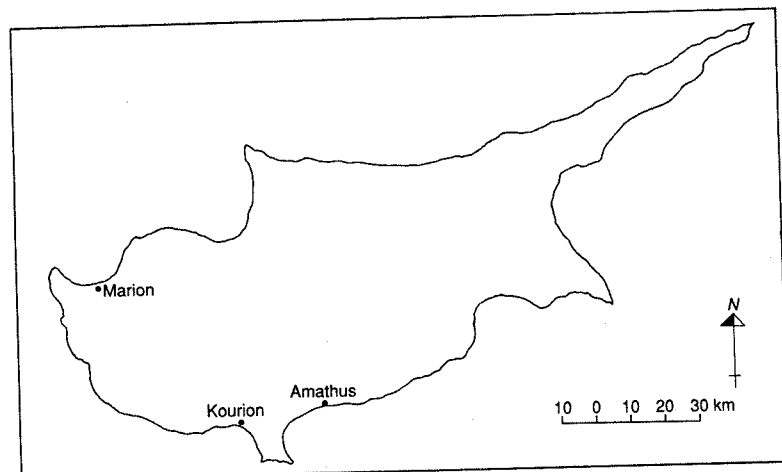
<sup>45</sup> P. Flourentzos, 'Tomb Groups from the Necropolis in Ay. Omologites, Nicosia', *RDAC* 1986, 154, no. 22; pl. 28.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 129, no. CWA.3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 131, no. Ba.17; 133, no. Bc.3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 134, no. Ca.4.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 131, no. Ba.12.



Distribution Map 7

(d) The 'Marion-Jug' group (Distribution Map 7)

Jugs with the moulded figure of a woman carrying a small jug that acts as a spout for the whole vase are well-known from the area around Marion (Pl. 30).<sup>50</sup> Examples are also reported from Kourion<sup>51</sup> and Amathus.<sup>52</sup> The distribution, then, simply extends along the western coast of the island.

(e) The group of Amathus oinochoai (Distribution Map 8)

Very typical of the Cypro-Archaic ceramic industry of Amathus are the somewhat sagging shapes of the oinochoai, usually painted with birds (Pl. 31).<sup>53</sup> These have been found in Kourion,<sup>54</sup> Idalion,<sup>55</sup> and further east, as far as the Karpass,<sup>56</sup> with other examples known from Mari

<sup>50</sup> For examples, see D. M. Robinson et al., *Greek Vases at Toronto* (Toronto, 1930), 91-2, no. 273, pl. 25, listing similar pieces; M. Yon, *Manuel de céramique chypriote*, i (Lyons, 1976), 166-7; fig. 62b-c.

<sup>51</sup> e.g. A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce, *CVA Great Britain*, ii. London, British Museum (London, 1926), 15, no. 17.

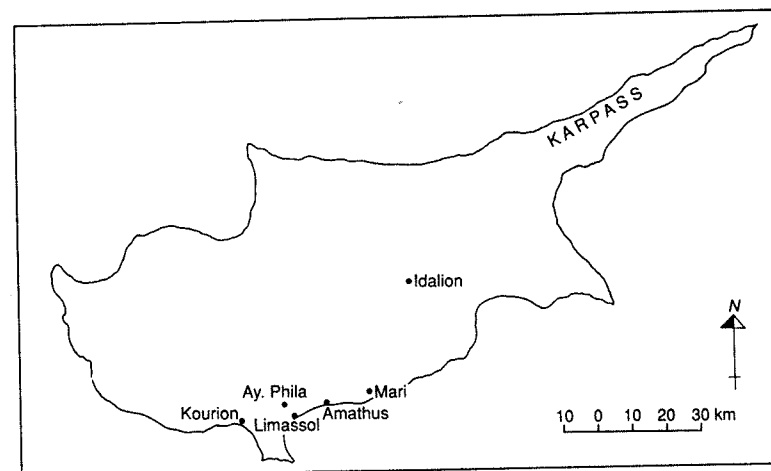
<sup>52</sup> e.g. *ibid.* 15, no. 13.

<sup>53</sup> e.g., *CCSF* (text vol.) 70, no. xxv.j.1-20; (pl. vol.), 483-92; (suppl. vol.), 169-78, no. sxxv.j.1-10. See also V. Karageorghis, 'Some Remarks on the "Amathus Style" in Cypriote Vase Painting', in H.-U. Cain et al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (Mainz, 1989), 83-6; Morris and Symons (n. 36), 187.

<sup>54</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, i(2) (London, 1912), 162, no. C.832, fig. 295.

<sup>55</sup> *CCSF* (pl. vol.) 485, no. xxv.j.6; cf. *SCE*, ii, 570, no. 1535, pl. 167, no. 10, for an amphoriskos from Idalion with birds painted by a related hand.

<sup>56</sup> *CCSF* (pl. vol.) 484, no. xxv.j.4.



Distribution Map 8

(between Amathus and Kition),<sup>57</sup> Limassol,<sup>58</sup> and Ayia Phila (between Amathus and Kourion).<sup>59</sup> Distribution is wide, extending along the southern coast, into the Karpass, and into the central areas around Idalion. The founder of the principal workshop that produced these oinochoai has been designated the Amathus Painter.<sup>60</sup>

(f) The group of black-figure ceramics from Amathus (Distribution Map 9)

In the late sixth century, influenced by the techniques of Attic black-figure vase painting, Amathus developed a local black-figure industry (Pls. 21; 32).<sup>61</sup> Its pottery was decorated with figures painted in black, with particular details shown by incision. A black-figure vase painted with a Hathor-head, a motif characteristic of Amathus, has been found in Idalion.<sup>62</sup>

(g) The NBB workshop (Distribution Map 10)

Benson has identified a workshop which he called the NBB workshop (after unprovenanced Bichrome bowls in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia),

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 486, no. xxv.j.7.

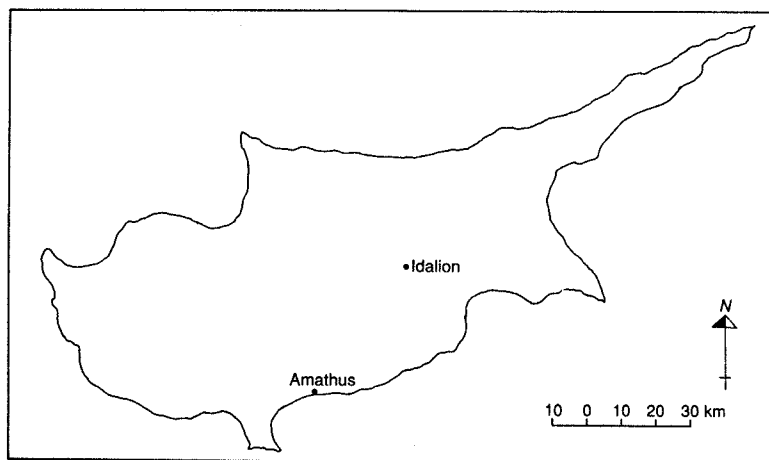
<sup>58</sup> Karageorghis (n. 53), 84-5.

<sup>59</sup> *CCSF* (suppl. vol.), 177, no. sxxv.j.9.

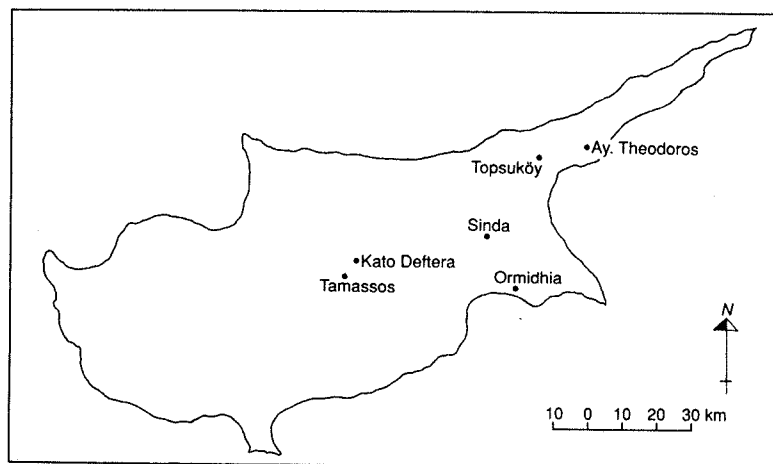
<sup>60</sup> Benson, 'Amathus' (n. 4), 138-43.

<sup>61</sup> See, in general, M. Yon, 'Céramiques grecques et imitations chypriotes', in H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984), 234-8; cf., *CCSF* (text vol.), 91. Note also V. Karageorghis, 'The Princeton Amphoriskos of the Amathus Style', *RDAC* 1990, 121-5.

<sup>62</sup> A. Hermay, 'Un nouveau chapiteau hathorique trouvé à Amathonte', *BCH* 109 (1985), 679; *CCSF* (pl. vol.), 509, no. 6.



Distribution Map 9

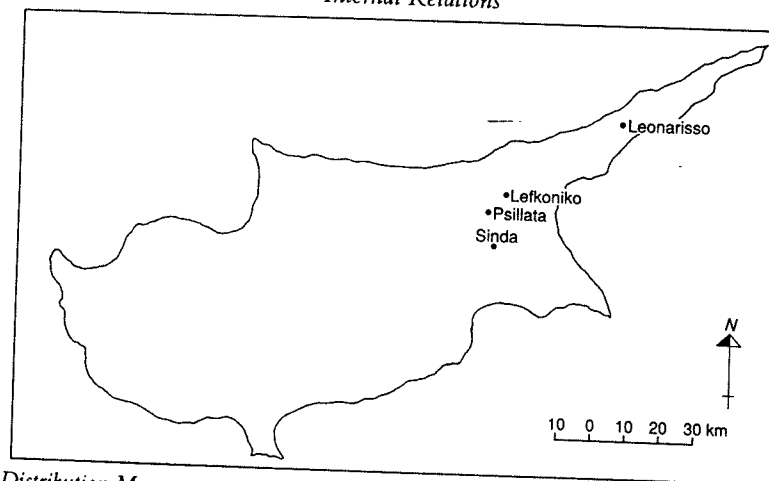


Distribution Map 10

active at the end of the Cypro-Geometric and early Cypro-Archaic periods.<sup>63</sup> It specialized in the production of Bichrome bowls decorated with a particular type of bird, often seen with both feet forward, as if about to alight on the ground (Pl. 33).<sup>64</sup> The workshop was founded by an artist designated the Armidale Painter by Benson. He was possibly

<sup>63</sup> Benson, 'Birds ... Pottery' (n. 4), 129–50; id., *Studies ... Dikaios* (n. 4), 129–38; id., 'Amathus' (n. 4), 142–3. For some additions, see Morris and Symons (n. 36), 185–91.

<sup>64</sup> e.g. CCSF (suppl. vol.) 94–101, no. sxxv.a.1–8; (pl. vol.), 272–82, no. xxv.a.2–14.



Distribution Map 11

based in the area around Tamassos.<sup>65</sup> Bichrome bowls related to the production of the NBB workshop and the Armidale Painter are known from Ayios Theodoros (Famagusta area),<sup>66</sup> Kato Deftera (near Nicosia),<sup>67</sup> Sinda (Famagusta area),<sup>68</sup> and Ormidhia (between Larnaca and Salamis).<sup>69</sup> Benson has also assigned vase-paintings on jugs from Topsuköy (Famagusta area)<sup>70</sup> and Ayios Theodoros<sup>71</sup> to artists working 'in the manner of' the Armidale Painter.<sup>72</sup> Distribution seems confined to the central areas and the south-east.

(h) *Some additional Cypriot vase-painters (Distribution Map 11)*

Contact between the north-west of Cyprus and areas further inland is suggested by the depiction of the birds on two jugs, one found at Leonarisso on the Karpas,<sup>73</sup> the other at Lefkoniko.<sup>74</sup> The painted

<sup>65</sup> Suggested in A. Dimitriou, 'A Cypriote 8th–7th Century Bird Workshop', *AD* 30.1 (1975), 21–34; cf. Benson, 'Amathus' (n. 4), 143. For an example from Tamassos, note CCSF (pl. vol.) 283, no. xxv.a.15.

<sup>66</sup> CCSF (suppl. vol.) 94, no. sxxv.a.1; 96, no. sxxv.a.3–4. For the Famagusta area, cf. also the bird on the Bichrome IV amphora shown in CCSF (pl. vol.), 203, no. xviii.5 (similarity noted in Benson, *Studies ... Dikaios* (n. 4), 133).

<sup>67</sup> CCSF (suppl. vol.) 95, no. sxxv.a.2.

<sup>68</sup> CCSF (suppl. vol.) 97–8, no. sxxv.a.5–6. Cf. also the bird shown on the krater in CCSF (suppl. vol.) 126, no. sxxv.d.1 from Sinda (similarity noted in Benson, 'Amathus' (n. 4), 142).

<sup>69</sup> CCSF (pl. vol.), 280, no. xxv.a.11.

<sup>70</sup> CCSF (suppl. vol.), 136, no. sxxv.g.2.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 141, no. sxxv.g.7.

<sup>72</sup> Benson, 'Amathus' (n. 4), 142.

<sup>73</sup> CCSF (pl. vol.), 439, no. xxv.g.37.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 422, no. xxv.g.20.

decoration on these jugs has been attributed to a single artist.<sup>75</sup> Jugs from Sinda<sup>76</sup> and Psillata in the Famagusta region<sup>77</sup> have also been seen as related to the output of this artist,<sup>78</sup> which is largely confined to the areas of Salamis and the Karpas.

Some further information may supplement the results of this examination of the main ceramic groups and artists' hands. For the late Cypro-Geometric period, Deshayes identified pottery fabrics at Ktima, in the Paphos area, related to the ceramics of Kaloriziki (near Kourion), and Marion.<sup>79</sup> In the Cypro-Geometric period, as well, birds on the pottery of Amathus also tended to share characteristics with the pottery of Kourion.<sup>80</sup>

A group of Cypro-Archaic pictorial vases that has been called a 'hybrid class,' combining White Painted, Bichrome, and Black-on-Red techniques, may have been at home in the Amathus and Kourion areas (Pl. 34).<sup>81</sup> A ceramic ware called 'Black-Slipped Groove ware,' after the ridges that run along the sides of the various examples, is also well-attested in Amathus, with one vessel of this type known from Salamis.<sup>82</sup> The painted decoration on monumental terracotta cuirasses found in Salamis<sup>83</sup> and Kazaphani in the Kyrenia district<sup>84</sup> and thus far nowhere else, suggests 'some degree of cultural relationship'<sup>85</sup> between the two areas (Pl. 35). Karageorghis has also noted ceramic parallels between the pottery from the necropolis at Salamis and a favissa at Kazaphani.<sup>86</sup>

A Black-on-Red jug from Chrysochou in the north-west of Cyprus,<sup>87</sup> a Bichrome amphora probably from Platani in the Famagusta region,<sup>88</sup> and a White Painted krater also from Chrysochou<sup>89</sup> have painted

<sup>75</sup> CCSF (text vol.), 77, also attributing CCSF (pl. vol.), 410, no. XXV.g.4, and 411, no. XXV.g.6 from Idalion or Potamia to the same artist, but these seem to me by different hands.

<sup>76</sup> CCSF (suppl. vol.), 146, no. XXXV.g.12.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. 147, no. XXXV.g.13.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>79</sup> J. Deshayes, *La Nécropole de Ktima* (Paris, 1963), 227-9; see also the review of the above by H. W. Catling in *Gnomon*, 37 (1965), 807.

<sup>80</sup> C. M. Adelman, *Cypro-Geometric Pottery: Refinements in Classification* (Göteborg, 1976), 81, on his Amathus Group 1.

<sup>81</sup> V. Karageorghis, 'Two Pictorially Decorated Vases of the Cypro-Archaic Period', in *Studies in Dikaiois* (n. 2), 123-4.

<sup>82</sup> V. Karageorghis, 'Black Slip Grooved Ware from Cyprus', *RDAC* 1982, 119-22.

<sup>83</sup> CCSF (pl. vol.), 114, no. IX.18.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 131-3, no. XII.a.7; 138-9, no. XII.b.13.

<sup>85</sup> Karageorghis, 'Kazaphani' (n. 25), 191.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 190.

<sup>87</sup> CCSF (suppl. vol.), 6-7, no. SB1.

<sup>88</sup> CCSF (pl. vol.), 6-9.

<sup>89</sup> CCSF (suppl. vol.), 10-4, no. ST.1.

decorations that seem stylistically related. The decoration of the last two has been thought to be the work of the same painter.<sup>90</sup> DuPlat Taylor saw parallels between the ceramic material from Ayios Philon in the Karpas and the pottery from Marion, near Chrysochou.<sup>91</sup>

Clay analysis of sherds from Idalion has been used to support the proposition that there was particularly close contact between Idalion and Kition throughout much of the Cypro-Archaic period. But there may have been a decline in this contact towards the end of the period.<sup>92</sup> The methodology employed in analysing the sherds from Idalion, however, was problematic, and the results are, accordingly, difficult to interpret.<sup>93</sup>

#### GLYPHTIC GROUPS

In order to supplement and, in a way, test, the information on the internal relations of Cyprus derived from ceramic materials, it is possible to look at the distribution around Cyprus of those seals which seem to be either the work of a single hand, or else characteristic of a particular area within the island.

##### (a) *The Pyrga workshop (Distribution Map 12)*

Pyrga, near Kition, seems to have been home to a glyptic workshop that favoured the production, in black serpentine, of cubical seals and scarabs with simply carved backs.<sup>94</sup> That the scarabs were not manufactured in isolation from the cubical seals is shown by the scarab carved atop the handle of one cubical seal that may, on stylistic grounds be attributed to the workshop (Pl. 36).<sup>95</sup> The human figures and animals that are used as devices are incised in a style that is linear, but not rigidly so. To offset the linear execution of a particular device the seal-cutter sometimes places drillings in the field. Aside from Pyrga, examples of seals in the 'Pyrga-style' are known from Ayia Irini<sup>96</sup> and Salamis.<sup>97</sup> Examples

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>91</sup> J. DuPlat Taylor, 'Excavations at Ayios Philon, Part I', *RDAC* 1980, 164.

<sup>92</sup> Jones (n. 2), 530-1; A. M. Bieber, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Cypriot Pottery', in L. E. Stager and A. M. Walker, *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus, 1973-1980* (Chicago, 1989), 357-71.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. 612-13.

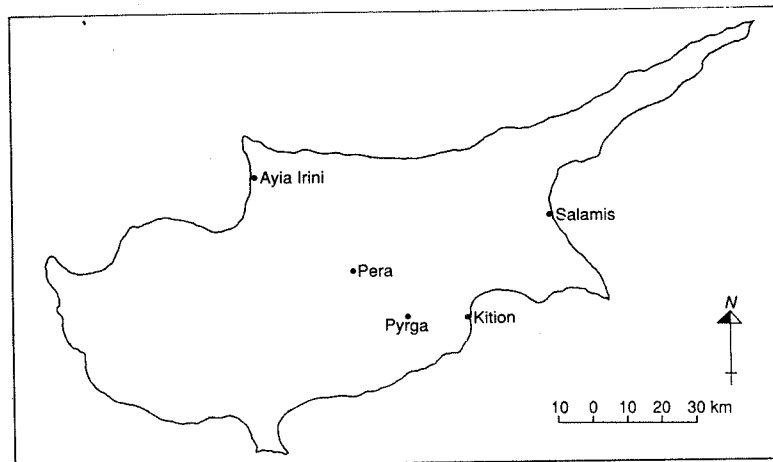
<sup>94</sup> On the glyptic industry at Pyrga, see, in general, A. T. Reyes, 'Stamp Seals in the Pierides Collection, Larnaca', *RDAC* 1991, 124, on seal no. 13.

<sup>95</sup> E. Gubel, '"Syro-Cypriote" Cubical Stamps: The Phoenician Connection', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987) 200, fig. 4, with bibliography.

<sup>96</sup> SCE ii, 779, no. 2719; pl. 250, no. 6.

<sup>97</sup> Gubel (n. 95), 201, fig. 5, with bibliography.





Distribution Map 12

allegedly from Pera (near Tamassos)<sup>98</sup> and Kition<sup>99</sup> may also be attributed to the Pyrga workshop.<sup>100</sup> The distribution of the group, therefore, extends along the south-eastern coast, continuing into the north. The scarab cut in the 'Pyrga-style' and found in the sanctuary at Ayia Irini provides a chronological peg for the group, as it was found in a level that could be assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century BC.<sup>101</sup>

(b) *The scorpion-cutter of Ayia Irini (Distribution Map 13)*

Three scarabs from Ayia Irini, all of black serpentine and with somewhat lumpy profiles, bear the same device of a scorpion, its tail represented by three drillings, set within a linear border (Pl. 37).<sup>102</sup> A fourth scarab, of the same type and with the same device, was found at a sanctuary in Arsos.<sup>103</sup> Its device was probably cut by the same hand. All four seals date to roughly the first half of the sixth century.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Nicosia D.31; cf. the griffin wings and the lion body shown on Gubel (n. 95), 199, fig. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Nicosia D.25. Cf. R.-P. Charles, 'Les Scarabées égyptiens et égyptisants de Pyrga, district de Larnaca (Chypre)', *ASAE* 58 (1964), 24–5, no. 6; note, in particular, the cutting of the tree above the horse.

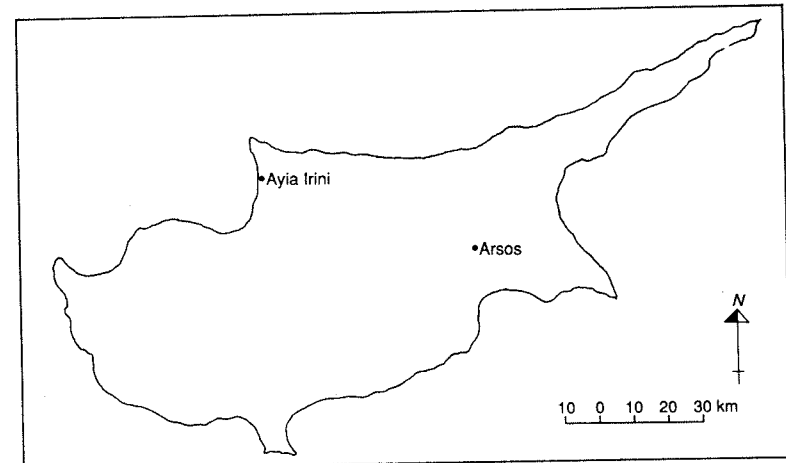
<sup>100</sup> For some unprovenanced seals that may be attributed to the Pyrga workshop on the basis of the style in which the different devices are cut, note *Hotel Drouot, Collection de cachets et cylindres orientaux: 20 Avril 1964* (Paris, 1964), no. 96, pl. 6; Gubel (n. 95) 200, fig. 4, with bibliography; Vollenweider, *Geneva*, iii, 129–30, no. 175; 133, no. 177.

<sup>101</sup> The seal was assigned to 'period 6' of the sanctuary. On the chronology, see B. Lewy, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (Dortmund, 1975), 84–92.

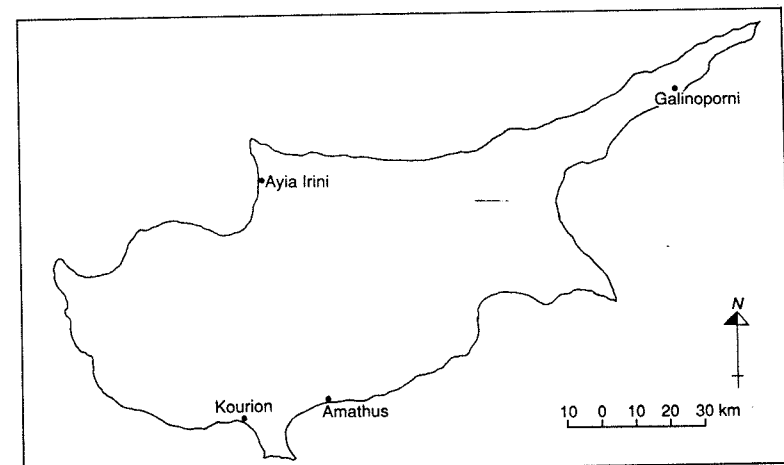
<sup>102</sup> *SCE* ii, 758, no. 2276; 759, no. 2299 (both in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm); 772, no. 2706; pl. 250, no. 1 (in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia).

<sup>103</sup> *SCE* iii, 599; pl. 204, no. 231 (Nicosia D.167)

<sup>104</sup> The examples from Ayia Irini are assigned to 'period 5' of the sanctuary; on the chronology, see above, n. 101.



Distribution Map 13



Distribution Map 14

(c) *The sub-geometric warrior series (Distribution Map 14)*

Very popular as devices on Cypriot scarabs and scaraboids made of serpentines or harder stones, such as green jasper, are warriors cut in a sub-geometric style (Pl. 38).<sup>105</sup> The warrior-figure usually wears a crested helmet or a helmet with a spiked top. The head has a pointed chin, and the body is often shown by drillings. The hands may also be represented by drillings. In appearance, the figure may be compared

<sup>105</sup> On this series, see, in general, Reyes (n. 94), 121–4, on seals 10–12.

with the contemporary Cypro-Archaic terracottas depicting warriors, also shown with pointed chins and wearing tall helmets.<sup>106</sup> Just as the helmeted terracotta warriors may be said to be among the most typical products of the local terracotta industry, this glyptic series seems the most typically Cypriot of the local gem sequences.

Examples of scarabs with devices showing sub-geometric warriors are well-attested among the seals from the sanctuary at Ayia Irini, where they were found in contexts dating from the second half of the seventh century to the second half of the sixth.<sup>107</sup> Other related examples are known from Galinoporni in the Karpass area,<sup>108</sup> Amathus,<sup>109</sup> and Kourion.<sup>110</sup> The distribution of the group, therefore, extends from the north, where the type may have been particularly at home, to the eastern areas and the south-western coast.

(d) *Head-seals and head-pendants (Distribution Map 15)*

Within Cyprus, serpentine seals or pendants carved in the shape of a head, often with negroid features,<sup>111</sup> seem most typical of the area around Amathus<sup>112</sup> and Kourion (Pl. 39).<sup>113</sup> At Amathus, alongside heads that are negroid in appearance, are heads with long, pointed beards normally covered with cross-hatching; the hair on the head is indicated by deep furrows (Pl. 40).<sup>114</sup> This type of head-pendant is local

<sup>106</sup> Cf. e.g. Young and Young (n. 19), pls. 19 and 21.

<sup>107</sup> SCE ii, 770, no. 2626; 773, no. 2749; 713, no. 1148; pl. 244, no. 8; 768, no. 2539. The above are all by the same hand. See also SCE ii, 771, no. 2662. The following unprovenanced examples showing sub-geometric warriors may also be attributed to the series: P. Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Munich, 1983), 71, Taf. 14.3 (said to have been found in eastern Cyprus); M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague* (The Hague, 1978), 74, no. 6; B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, iii (Oxford, 1988), 82, no. 562, pl. 18; *ibid.* 81, no. 541, pl. 17; Zwiwerlein-Diehl, *AGDS* ii, 61, no. 120; Vollenweider, *Geneva*, i, 138, no. 185; 139, no. 186; *ead.*, *Geneva*, iii, 125, no. 169 (entirely without provenance, but, on stylistic grounds, it may be safely attributed to Cypriot manufacture).

<sup>108</sup> Masson, *ICS*, 328, no. 328 = H. W. Catling, 'The Seal of Pasitimos', *Kadmos*, 11 (1972), 63, no. 7, fig. 2, with bibliography.

<sup>109</sup> J. Boardman, 'Cypriote, Phoenician, and Greek Seals and Amulets', in V. Karageorghis *et al.* (eds.), *La Nécropole d'Amathonte: tombes 110-385*, v (Nicosia, 1991), 161-2, on no. 237/72.

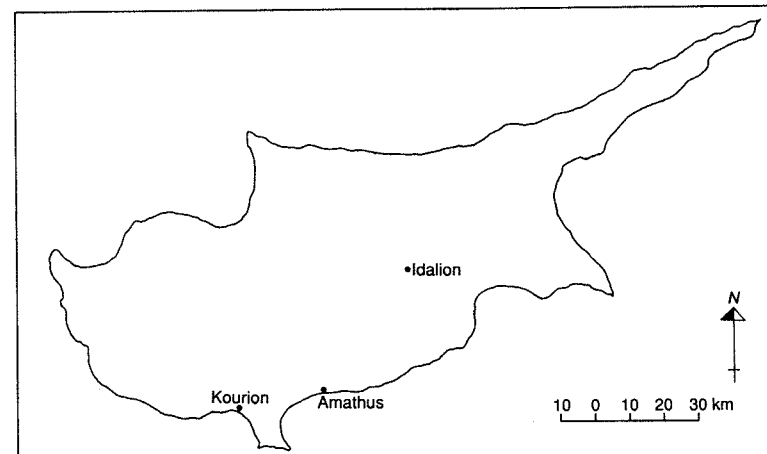
<sup>110</sup> Kourion K83 (CA context, sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion). I am grateful to Dr D. Buitron for allowing me to see this seal in advance of publication.

<sup>111</sup> For a discussion of the type, see Buchanan and Moorey (n. 107), 23-4.

<sup>112</sup> e.g. V. Karageorghis, *Blacks in Ancient Cypriot Art* (Houston, Tex., 1988), 19, no. 11; 18-19, no. 10 (late CA I-early CA II context).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* 17, no. 7. For other examples from Cyprus, but without precise provenances, see Buchanan and Moorey (n. 107), 83, no. 568, pl. 18; Karageorghis, *Blacks* (n. 112), 18, no. 9; 39-40, no. 31; Vollenweider, *Geneva*, iii, 116, no. 158, and possibly 57, no. 89; 113-15, nos. 156-7.

<sup>114</sup> e.g. V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1972', *BCH* 97 (1973), 622, fig. 45; A. S. Murray *et al.*, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London, 1900), 99i; fig. 147, no. 32.



Distribution Map 15



FIG. 14. Device of a blue frit conoid seal from Palaepaphos (Tomb 57, Cypro-Geometric II period): male figure being trampled (?) by a quadruped. Diam. 0.016 m. Ht. of seal 0.012 m. Drawn as if shown in impression (After V. Karageorghis, *Alt-Paphos* iii, pl. 74, no. 1)

to the area, and, thus far, has been found nowhere else in the island. An example of a head-pendant with negroid features is known from Idalion.<sup>115</sup> These head-seals and pendants probably date to the second half of the sixth century.<sup>116</sup>

Some further, potentially significant, information supplements the patterns of internal relations derived from the glyptic groupings outlined

<sup>115</sup> G. H. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* (Baltimore, 1929), 69, no. 27, with bibliography; see also L. P. di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, iii (Boston, 1885), pl. 18.3 and commentary ad loc.

<sup>116</sup> On the archaeological contexts of certain examples, see above, n. 112; for the contexts of the Amathus-type head pendants, see Boardman (n. 109), 162. Serpentine head-seals are also known from Late Bronze Age Cyprus: e.g. P. Dikaios, *Enkomi* (Mainz, 1971), 803, no. 19a; pls. 187-8 (Late Cypriot IIIB context).

above. Seals that are cubically shaped and with devices cut on more than one side appear to be typical products of the southern coast of the island (Pl. 36). They are attested in Amathus, Erimi (between Kourion and Amathus), Kalavassos (east of Amathus), Kourion, Pyrga, and Salamis.<sup>117</sup> Gems with devices depicting mythological stories with a strong narrative content seem to have been a particularly Cypriot speciality of the second half of the sixth century (Pl. 41). They are known from Amathus, Kourion, and Marion.<sup>118</sup> Usually, scenes have three characters, often above a cross-hatched exergue, within a linear border. Deposits of rock crystal are reported from 'near Paphos',<sup>119</sup> and thus far the only known Cypro-Archaic rock-crystal seals with Cypriot provenances are from that area<sup>120</sup> and nearby Kourion.<sup>121</sup> In Cypro-Geometric times, a group of blue frit conoids with devices recalling Egyptian hieroglyphs seems to have been at home in Amathus,<sup>122</sup> but solitary examples of this type of seal are also known from Lapethos<sup>123</sup> and Paphos (Fig. 14).<sup>124</sup>

The internal relations suggested by the various archaeological groups and artists' hands are summarized in Table 5, in which the different

<sup>117</sup> For a listing of examples, see Gubel (n. 95), 195–224.

<sup>118</sup> J. Boardman, 'The Cypriot Contribution to Archaic Greek Glyptic', in Tatton-Brown (n. 13), 45, with bibliography. Note also Berlin VA 2145, a limestone cylinder seal showing Perseus, face averted, holding the Gorgon by the wrist and with a sickle in hand; object behind Perseus (usually said to be a fish, but possibly not (cf., however, Boardman, *AGGems*, no. 74, pl. 5, from Falerii): W. Burkert, 'Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels', in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London and Sydney, 1987), 31, fig. 2, no. 3, and 39 n. 75, with bibliography; note also W. Lambert, 'Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia', in A. E. Farkas et al. (eds.), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Mainz, 1987), 48, pl. 9, no. 22. Dr. E. Klengel of Berlin, who has looked at the seal, doubts its authenticity and thinks it has been re-cut (I owe this information to Dr D. Collon of the British Museum, London).

<sup>119</sup> J. Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (London, 1982), 106. On the reputation of rock crystal from Cyprus in antiquity, see Plin. *HN* 37. 9. 23–5.

<sup>120</sup> Nicosia D.97, showing a four-winged scarab with an incense burner (?) below, papyrus blossoms on either side.

<sup>121</sup> D. Buitron, 'The Archaic Precinct at Kourion: 1981 Excavations', *RDAC* 1982, 144–7 = V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1981', *BCH* 106 (1982), 727–8, fig. 96. Note also Boardman, *AGGems*, 99, no. 287: the inscription *la-wa-ti-ni-so* seems to have been part of the original design, suggesting Cypriot manufacture; cf. Catling (n. 108), 78, on his no. 16. For other rock-crystal gems, allegedly from Cyprus, but without precise provenances, see Boardman, *AGGems*, 46, no. 73; Zwierlein-Diehl, *AGDS* ii, 47, no. 77. For a rock-crystal seal allegedly from Tortosa (Syrian coast), but with a possible Cypro-syllabic inscription, see Boardman, *AGGems*, 104, no. 295; pl. 20.

<sup>122</sup> On this group, see, in general, A. T. Reyes, 'A Group of Cypro-Geometric Stamp Seals', *Levant*, 25 (1993), 194–205.

<sup>123</sup> *SCE* i, 188; pl. 42, no. 48a.

<sup>124</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Alt-Paphos*, iii (Constance, 1983), 111; 410; pl. 74, no. 1.

areas of the island have been listed, largely according to the kingdoms recorded in the prism of Esarhaddon, dating to 673/2 BC, the only extant source which names kingdoms actually in existence in the Cypro-Archaic period. In certain instances, the kingdoms in whose territories particular sites would have fallen in the Cypro-Archaic period have had to be surmised. Thus, for example, it has been assumed, for present purposes, that the site of Ayia Irini would have been part of the kingdom of Lapethos. The kingdom of Lapethos is not mentioned in the text of the prism, but its political integrity is reasonably assured by its practice of issuing its own coinage.<sup>125</sup> The Karpass area has been listed separately, rather than assigned to a particular kingdom.

From Table 5, it seems clear that, in the Cypro-Archaic period, Amathus, Salamis, Kition, and Kourion were the most cosmopolitan of the local kingdoms. They maintained connections along the southern coast of the island, and had contacts with the kingdoms of the north and the inland areas around Idalion and Tamassos. The connections of Kition—with the northern area around Lapethos, the central area around Idalion, and the southern kingdoms, as far as Paphos to the west and Salamis to the east—are precisely those indicated by the provenances of the coins from the Larnaka hoard dated to the early fifth century BC.<sup>126</sup> Marion, Soloi, and Paphos are largely westward-looking, although there are slight archaeological indications of contact with the other kingdoms of the south-east. Much of the interest of the central areas around Arsos, Idalion, Tamassos, and Ledra seems to have been directed to the kingdoms of Amathus, Kition, and Salamis along the southern coast. The northern kingdom of Chytroi seems largely to have had contact with the western part of the island. The contacts of the Karpass area, on the other hand, can only be traced along the southern coast.

These seem to have been the principal internal relations of Cyprus. It is now necessary to map the principal external contacts against the internal ones. It will then be possible to see, however dimly, the way in which the island 'operated'<sup>127</sup> during the Cypro-Archaic period.

<sup>125</sup> Above, p. 89.

<sup>126</sup> On the Larnaka coin hoard, see A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'Le Trésor de Larnaca (*IGCH* 1272) réexaminé', *RDAC* 1984, 140–61.

<sup>127</sup> The term is from Jones (n. 2), 530.

## External Relations

I have heard it denied, both in and out of Palestine, that Cyprus could be seen from Lebanon; but from many a stand-point up yonder I have often beheld that favourite isle of the Paphian Venus glowing in the golden light of our summer evenings. More distinctly still is Lebanon visible from Cyprus. There is a splendid view of it from the mountain of the Cross, a few miles back of Larnica; and many years ago, when travelling through the island, I climbed with infinite toil, the northern range of mountains to a giddy pinnacle, not far from the ruined but romantic castle of Bûffavento, and from it the higher half of Lebanon looked like a huge snow-bank drifted up against the sky. Beneath my feet rolled the sparkling seas of Cilicia and Pamphylia, over which Paul sailed on his way to Rome; while far beyond, the glaciers of Taurus flashed back the setting sun. Through such an atmosphere, objects are visible to a distance quite incredible to the inexperienced.

W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (London, 1868), 20

IN 1948, Gjerstad, reviewing the archaeological evidence for the foreign relations of Cyprus in the Cypro-Archaic period, noted connections with the Near East, Egypt, the Greek islands, and other areas of the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> But the picture he constructed over forty years ago now requires some elaboration and correction. What follows, however, is intended only to supplement his work, rather than to supersede it, since fuller studies on Cypriot ceramics, terracottas, and other bodies of material are required before a thorough study of the island's foreign relations could even be contemplated. Consequently, this chapter simply

<sup>1</sup> SCE iv.2, 226, 420. In what follows, literary references to the wanderings of mythical or legendary figures have been largely excluded, since their historicity and relevance to the Cypro-Archaic period is difficult to ascertain. Note e.g. D. S. 4. 37. 1-2, on the Dryopes; Strabo 14. 2. 7 and Paus. 9. 19. 1, on the Telchines; Plu. *Mor.* 311a, on Kinyras and his daughter Smyrna. For speculation on the nature of the connections between Cypriot religious cults and those from elsewhere in the Near East and Greece, see e.g. S. Sophocleous, *Atlas des représentations chypro-archaïques des divinités* (Göteborg, 1985); C. G. Bennett, 'The Cults of the Ancient Greek Cypriotes', Ph.D. thesis (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1980) with bibliographies. Note also H.-G. Buchholz, 'Der Gott Hammon und Zeus Ammon auf Zypern', *AM* 106 (1991), 85-128.

looks at the range of foreign influences manifested in the local material culture and reviews current published information that sheds light on regional aspects of foreign imports into Cyprus and of Cypriot imports into foreign places. As always, the textual sources and archaeological remains need to be considered together, although the latter provide the main evidence for the island's external contacts.

### The Written Evidence

Objects with inscriptions that use the Cypro-syllabic script and are found outside Cyprus provide some general indications of the island's foreign connections in the Cypro-Archaic period. Isolated examples of Cypro-Archaic gems with what may be owners' names inscribed in the Cypro-syllabic script are reported from the areas of Syria,<sup>2</sup> Beirut,<sup>3</sup> and Cyrene.<sup>4</sup> It cannot be established, however, that the provenances named in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century records are accurate. Cypro-syllabic names are inscribed as graffiti on the interiors of various Egyptian shrines and on dedications in Egyptian temples, but these seem to date largely to the Cypro-Classical period, rather than earlier.<sup>5</sup>

A name inscribed in Cypro-syllabic characters on one foot of a bronze tripod dedicated at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, and probably dating to the seventh century, testifies to contact between Cyprus and the Greek mainland at this time.<sup>6</sup> The tripod provides an archaeological correlate to the report in Herodotos of the dedication at Delphi of a bronze incense-burner by Euelthon, king of Salamis, in the late sixth century BC.<sup>7</sup> At Delphi, the burner was kept in the building called the Treasury of the Corinthians.<sup>8</sup>

Herodotos, in addition, reports that, after his archonship at Athens in 594 BC, the Greek law-giver Solon travelled to Cyprus and 'greatly

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Boardman, *AGGems*, 83-4, no. 226; pl. 14 (= P. Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits* (Paris, 1986), 102, no. 133, which reads the inscription as late 5th-cent. Aramaic; cf. P. Bordreuil and E. Gubel, 'Bulletin d'antiquités archéologiques du Levant inédites ou méconnues, IV', *Syria*, 64 (1987), 313). Note also Boardman, *AGGems*, 104, no. 295; pl. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Boardman, *GGFR*, 185; pl. 385, with bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Masson, *ICS*, 389, no. 456, with bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> Masson, *ICS*, 353.

<sup>6</sup> C. Rolley and O. Masson, 'Un bronze de Delphes à inscription chypriote syllabique', *BCH* 95 (1971), 295-304.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. 4. 162. 3.

<sup>8</sup> P. Amandry, 'Petits Objets de Delphes', *BCH* 68-9 (1944-5), 50-1, plausibly suggests a Cypriot provenance for a scarab from the sanctuary ('pierre dure, de couleur gris-blanc') with a device showing a bull walking behind an ibex in the middle of a papyrus brake. A ladder exergue and a linear border complete the scene.

praised its rulers in poetry.<sup>9</sup> Plutarch quotes an elegiac poem allegedly addressed to king Philokypros of Soloi, who was said to have been persuaded by Solon to transfer the site of his kingdom from an escarpment to the plain below. Philokypros then renamed his kingdom 'Soloi' after Solon; it had previously been called Aipeia ('escarpment').<sup>10</sup> But because the name 'Soloi' seems to be preserved in the prism-inscription of Esarhad-don dated to 673/2 BC (Table 2), long before Solon lived, it is clear that the etymology Plutarch proposed for the name 'Soloi' is a false one, though there is nothing to discount the authenticity of other aspects of the story.

There are two further textual indications of the nature of the contact between Cyprus and the Greek world in the Cypro-Archaic period. The writer Polycharmos of Naukratis recounted the story of the trader Herostratos who bought a small statuette of Aphrodite at Paphos and carried it to Naukratis.<sup>11</sup> Polycharmos dated his story to the time of the twenty-third Olympiad, 688 BC, but this is unreliable. Whatever the date, however, the voyage seems to have taken place some time in the Cypro-Archaic period. Herostratos' own origins are obscure,<sup>12</sup> but it is worth noting that in the Classical period, the name is well-attested in East Greece, particularly in Chios, and in the third century BC is recorded in an inscription from Lapethos.<sup>13</sup>

Plutarch mentions Dexikreon, a Samian trader who travelled between Samos and Cyprus.<sup>14</sup> His mercantile activities cannot be dated precisely, however. The name is not attested in Cypriot inscriptions.

The contact between the East Greek world and Cyprus is also reflected in inscriptions found in the island. The funerary inscription on a late sixth-century gravestone from Marion, for example, is cut in both the Cypriot syllabary and the Knidian script.<sup>15</sup> An early fifth-century gravestone at Amathus records the death of Idagygos from Halikarnassos

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 5. 113. 2. According to D. L. 1. 62-3, Solon died in Cyprus.

<sup>10</sup> Plu. Sol. 26. 2-3.

<sup>11</sup> Ath. 15. 675f = FGrHist 640 F 1.

<sup>12</sup> Polycharmos describes Herostratos as *πολίτης ἡμέτερος* 'a citizen of ours', (i.e. of Naukratis). In view of his Greek name and the cosmopolitan character of Naukratis, it is likely that he was originally Greek.

<sup>13</sup> I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus* (Göteborg, 1976), 66, no. H21. G. Shipley, *A History of Samos, 800-187 BC* (Oxford, 1987), 86-7; 92 with n. 80, suggests Herostratos is Samian and places him in the second half of the 6th cent. on the basis of a scholiast's reference to a man of the same name connected with a revolution in the time of Polykrates, tyrant of Samos (c. 540 BC). The name Herostratos is most commonly attested in Chios (LGPN, 206, s.v.).

<sup>14</sup> Plu. Quaest. Graec. 54 = Mor. 303c.

<sup>15</sup> L. H. Jeffery and A. W. Johnston, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. edn. (Oxford, 1990), 352 with n. 4; I. Nicolaou, *Cypriot Inscribed Stones* (Nicosia, 1971), 10-11, pl. 4, describes the script as 'Rhodian'.

in Caria. He is identified as the son of Aristokles and called 'a servant of Ares'.<sup>16</sup> The Cypriot association with the Carian world is seen in Herodotos as well, when he mentions that, at the time of the Ionian revolt, king Onesilos of Salamis kept a Carian squire.<sup>17</sup> Finally, an inscription from Chios dating to the second quarter of the fifth century provides the genealogy of a certain Heropythos and lists fourteen of his ancestors, the earliest of whom is a man called Kyprios ('the Cypriot').<sup>18</sup> On the Herodotean assumption that three generations comprise roughly 100 years,<sup>19</sup> Kyprios would then have lived sometime in the tenth century, perhaps travelling from Cyprus and settling in Chios at that time.

Phoenician inscriptions that have been dated to the Cypro-Archaic period either on the basis of their epigraphical style or their archaeological contexts are not numerous. They are reported from the vicinities of Ayia Irini,<sup>20</sup> Golgoi,<sup>21</sup> Idalion,<sup>22</sup> Khirakitia,<sup>23</sup> Chytroi,<sup>24</sup> Kition,<sup>25</sup> Kourion,<sup>26</sup> and Salamis.<sup>27</sup> Brief and fragmentary as they are, these inscriptions do not specify the details of the contact between the Phoenician mainland and Cyprus. One inscription mentions a Phoenician traveller from Akko, near Haifa, and names in other inscriptions may be identified with particular ethnic groups, but it is not certain that an ethnic name necessarily denotes a non-Phoenician.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 353 and 358, no. 41; pl. 69.

<sup>17</sup> Hdt. 5. 111-12. For a gem 'en stéatite,' allegedly found in Paphos and possibly with a Carian inscription, note also Masson, *ICS*, 391, no. 462. For Cypriot statuary in the Carian world, see A. Johnston and V. Wilson, 'Cypriaka from Datça', *BICS* 25 (1978), 33-4.

<sup>18</sup> Jeffery and Johnston (n. 15), 344, no. 47; pl. 65. Only one other name in this inscription (*Φιλαίος*) is attested in Cyprus: LGPN, 459, s.v., noting an Imperial period (?) inscription from Paphos.

<sup>19</sup> Hdt. 2. 142. 2.

<sup>20</sup> e.g. O. Masson and M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les phéniciens à Chypre* (Geneva and Paris, 1972), 94-5, no. 6; L. Rocchetti, *Le tombe dei periodi geometrico ed arcaico della necropoli a mare di Ayia Irini 'Paleokastro'* (Rome, 1978), 14-16.

<sup>21</sup> e.g. Masson and Sznycer (n. 20), 113-14, no. 11.

<sup>22</sup> e.g. ibid. 108-13, no. 10.

<sup>23</sup> e.g. ibid. 102-4, no. 8ter.

<sup>24</sup> e.g. ibid. 104-7, no. 9.

<sup>25</sup> e.g. ibid. 114-21, no. 12; M. G. Amadasi Guzzo and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition*, iii (Nicosia, 1977), 130-5, nos. D3-4, D6; 140-2, nos. D13-14; 145-6, no. D17; 148-60, nos. D20-1; 162-4, nos. D25, D28-30; 166-8, nos. D32-4; 171-3, no. D38.

<sup>26</sup> e.g. Masson and Sznycer (n. 20), 88-91, no. 4.

<sup>27</sup> e.g. J. Pouilloux et al., *Salamine de Chypre*, xiii (Paris, 1987), 9, nos. A, B; M. Sznycer, 'Salamine et les phéniciens', in *Salamine de Chypre: Histoire et archéologie* (Paris, 1978), 127-8.

<sup>28</sup> C. Bonnet, 'Les Étrangers dans le corpus épigraphique phénicien de Chypre', *RDAC* 1990, 143, no. 3, with bibliography, for a Phoenician from Akko; ibid. 141-2, for an Anatolian (?) name. Note also S. Hadjissavas, 'Greek and Phoenician Influences on Cyprus as Evidenced in the Necropolis of Kition', in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia, 1986), 364, for ethnic names on Phoenician stelai from Kition and dated to the Cypro-Classical period. For a map showing the distribution of all Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus known prior

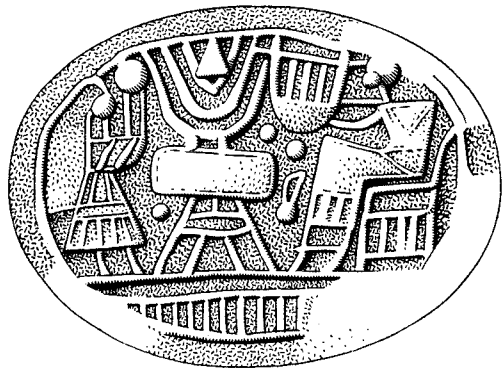


FIG. 15. Device of a scarab of blue serpentine, belonging to the Lyre-Player group of seals: seated lyre-player faces a woman with a tambourine; altar (?) in between; objects in field; linear border; ladder exergue. L. 0.018 m. W. 0.015 m. (After G. Buchner and J. Boardman, *JdAI* 81 (1966), 27, fig. 36, no. 125)

### Foreign Influences in Cyprus

The written sources, then, link Cyprus primarily with the East Greek world and the Levantine coast during the Cypro-Archaic period. This is, perhaps, not surprising. As earlier chapters have suggested, the foreign influences and imports present in Cypriot material culture are essentially Phoenician or East Greek.

Some Anatolian and North Syrian influences and imports are evident, manifested notably in the presence of 'Lyre-Player' seals found at Ayia Irini and probably from Cilicia or North Syria originally (Fig. 15).<sup>29</sup> Anatolian influence has also been seen in the sculptural style of certain animal figurines and the rendering of the hair styles on some Cypriot limestone votive statuettes, but examples of these are negligible in

to 1972, see Masson and Sznycer (n. 20), 11, fig. 1. For an unprovenanced Phoenician inscription from Cyprus, note also V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1981', *BCH* 106 (1982), 687. On the use of Phoenician vocabulary in Greek inscriptions from Cyprus, see, M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, 'Noms de vase en phénicien', *Semitica* 38 (1990), 19–20 (= *Hommages à Maurice Sznycer*, i).

<sup>29</sup> See, in general, J. Boardman, 'The Lyre Player Group of Seals: An Encore', *AA* 1990, 1–17, with bibliography; M. Martelli, 'La stipe votiva dell'Athenaion di Jalyos: Un primo bilancio', in S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou, *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* (Copenhagen, 1988), 110–11. For other Cypriot stamp seals possibly deriving from an Anatolian glyptic tradition, see also A. T. Reyes, 'Stamp Seals in the Pierides Collection, Larnaca', *RDAC* 1991, 124–6 on seals 15 and 20.

number.<sup>30</sup> A few metal vessels that recall Phrygian prototypes have also been reported from Cyprus.<sup>31</sup>

It must be remembered, moreover, that the relationship between the arts of Phoenicia, North Syria, and Anatolia is, at present, obscure in many respects, and the extent to which influences from the latter two areas were mediated through the Phoenician coast into Cyprus remains unclear. At any rate, the supposition that, in the Cypro-Archaic period, waves of foreign influences followed in the wake of foreign dominations seems largely to have been determined by a reading of the literary sources that emphasized hostilities between Cyprus and the neighbouring Near Eastern and Egyptian powers, and the unwarranted assumption that a foreign domination necessarily results in the manifestation of foreign influences.

### PHOENICIAN INFLUENCES

On the whole, it seems true to say that Hellenic influence only manifests itself strongly in Cypriot material culture from around the middle of the sixth century. Phoenician influence appears earlier, but its origins are more difficult to pinpoint, particularly since there is currently so little reliably dated information from the Near Eastern mainland. Nor is it always easy to distinguish Phoenician motifs from the Egyptian ones on which they are based.

#### (a) Pottery

Certain types of Phoenician pottery may be readily identified from their shapes and decoration as intrusive in the island.<sup>32</sup> But it is not yet possible to outline precisely, and with any confidence, the different ways in which Phoenician pottery—particularly pottery of northern Phoenicia—influenced Cypriot ceramics and vice versa.<sup>33</sup> The proximity between Cyprus and Phoenicia is such that the problem of identifying copies from originals is particularly acute. Some Cypriot jars with

<sup>30</sup> B. Lewe, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (Dortmund, 1975), 45–54; 66–74; cf. D. Ussishkin, 'A Neo-Hittite Base from Cyprus', *Archaeology*, 25 (1972), 304–5.

<sup>31</sup> M.-J. Chavane, *Vases du bronze au Musée de Chypre* (Lyons, 1982) 14 (cauldrons); 19 (thin-necked jugs with palmette handles); 59 (? dipper); H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern* (Munich, 1985), 128–32 (plates with omega-shaped handle attachments); 34–6 ('Phrygian plates'); 143–5 (phialai); 153–4 (lotus phialai); 218 (cauldrons); 238–44 (pear-shaped pitchers); 282–4 (thymiateria).

<sup>32</sup> For the different types, see, in general, Bikai, *PPC*, 48–9.

<sup>33</sup> P. M. Bikai, 'The Phoenician Imports', in V. Karageorghis et al., *Excavations at Kition*, iv (Nicosia, 1981), 23.

moulded faces at the neck probably derive from Canaanite or Phoenician prototypes.<sup>34</sup>

(b) *Architecture*

Similarly, the nature of the relationship between Phoenician and Cypriot architecture remains obscure, since the question 'What is a Phoenician temple?' cannot, on current evidence, be answered. Monuments first published by Renan<sup>35</sup> and once thought to exemplify early Phoenician architecture are now seen to be very insecurely dated, and it cannot be assumed, as it was in the nineteenth century, that all Cypriot architecture is Phoenician. The description of Solomon's temple in the Old Testament<sup>36</sup> still provides a reasonable starting-point for discussions of the architecture of the Phoenician temple. The passage, however, is difficult to understand, and reconstructions vary.<sup>37</sup>

Some archaeological evidence for the architecture of Phoenician sanctuaries in the mainland has accrued over the years. A small rectangular structure excavated at Sarepta has been tentatively interpreted as a Phoenician shrine.<sup>38</sup> The late sixth-century temple of Melqart at Amrit has also been reconstructed as a small rectangular structure, with a surrounding portico open at one end.<sup>39</sup> A detailed plan of the late sixth-century sanctuary of Eshmun on the outskirts of Sidon has yet to be published.<sup>40</sup> Later coinage from Byblos suggests that the temple there was built distyle *in antis* with steps leading to an inner courtyard, where the cult object was placed.<sup>41</sup> In Cyprus, the temple of Astarte at Kition has been identified specifically as Phoenician on the basis of epigraphical evidence, the significant amounts of Phoenician pottery found at these

<sup>34</sup> Cf. e.g. E. Gubel, *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen* (Brussels, 1986), 178, no. 162, from Tyre, with Cypriot examples listed in A. Pieridou, 'Kupriaka Anthropomorphia Aggeia', *RDAC* 1968, 20-7, and V. Karageorghis, *Cypriote Antiquities in the Pierides Museum* (Nicosia, n.d.), 129-30, nos. 59-60. Note also M. Weippert, 'Kanaanäische "Gravidenflaschen" zur Geschichte einer ägyptischer Gefäßgattung in der asiatischen "Provinz"', *ZDPV* 93 (1977), 268-82.

<sup>35</sup> E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris, 1864).

<sup>36</sup> 1 Kings 5: 11-16, 38.

<sup>37</sup> On the difficulties of assessing the accuracy of the description of Solomon's reign in the Old Testament, see, in general, A. R. Millard, 'Texts and Archaeology: Weighing the Evidence: The Case for Solomon', and J. Maxwell Miller, 'Solomon: International Potentate or Local King?', *PEQ* 123 (1991), 19-27 and 28-31.

<sup>38</sup> J. B. Pritchard, *Sarepta* (Philadelphia, 1975), 13-40; id., *Recovering Sarepta* (Princeton, NJ, 1978), 131-48.

<sup>39</sup> For the reconstruction, see M. Dunand and N. Saliby, *Le Temple d'Amrit dans la perée d'Aradus* (Paris, 1985), esp. pls. 62-4.

<sup>40</sup> On the temple and the Cypriot votive statuary dedicated in it, see L. Ganzmann *et al.*, 'Das Eshmunheiligtum von Sidon', *IstMitt* 37 (1987), 81-130.

<sup>41</sup> G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* (London, 1910), 102, no. 37; pl. 12, no. 13.

sites, and the tripartite divisions of the structure, comparable to the plan of Solomon's temple.<sup>42</sup> One cannot be certain, however, that the plan of the building is typically Phoenician, since it was built on the foundations of a Late Bronze Age structure.<sup>43</sup>

But for the most part, it seems likely that Phoenician cults were simply incorporated into existing Cypriot rural sanctuaries, just as a Phoenician shrine of the ninth or eighth century was incorporated into a local temple at Kommos in Crete.<sup>44</sup> Thus a terracotta statue of the Phoenician god Baal Hammon was found inside a rustic structure, not particularly distinctive architecturally, in Meniko, near Limassol.<sup>45</sup> Votive statues of Herakles-Melqart were found inside a Cypriot sanctuary at Kition.<sup>46</sup>

It has been thought that the Phoenician-influenced votive statuary found incorporated into the Persian siege mound of 498/7 BC at Paphos indicates the presence of a Phoenician shrine somewhere outside the city walls.<sup>47</sup> Architectural evidence, however, is lacking. The votive statues could equally be indicative of a Cypriot, rather than a specifically Phoenician, area of worship.

It does not follow that these sanctuaries were used exclusively for the worship of these gods, and extensive Phoenician influence on these rather rudimentary architectural forms cannot be demonstrated.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, it is possible that, because of the continuum between Canaanite and Phoenician culture, traditions inherited by Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age may have been the basis of the Cypro-Archaic religious architecture of the island. The basis of what endured in the island may well have arrived from the Levant before the end of the second millennium.<sup>49</sup>

The same lack of comparative evidence from the mainland prevents a

<sup>42</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Kition* (London, 1976), 95-141.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 97.

<sup>44</sup> J. W. Shaw, 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', *AJA* 93 (1989), 165-83. Cf. also J. B. Carter, 'The Masks of Ortheia', *AJA* 91 (1987), 355-83, on the supposed adoption of the goddess Asherah by the Spartans.

<sup>45</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Two Cypriot Sanctuaries of the End of the Cypro-Archaic Period* (Rome, 1977), 17-45.

<sup>46</sup> *SCE* iii, 75; on the worship of Herakles-Melqart elsewhere in Cyprus, see C. Bonnet, *Melqart* (Leuven, 1988), 313-41 (= *Studia Phoenicia*, 8).

<sup>47</sup> V. Wilson, 'The Kouklia Sanctuary', *RDAC* 1974, 139-46.

<sup>48</sup> For a study of the Cypriot sanctuaries in the vicinity of Kition and their relations with Phoenician rulers in the late 5th cent., see A. Caubet, 'Les Sanctuaires de Kition à l'époque de la dynastie phénicienne', *Studia Phoenicia*, 4 (1986), 153-68.

<sup>49</sup> The Tayinat Temple in Syria, although not Phoenician, shows that a predominant temple plan could go unchanged in the Levant from the Late Bronze Age to the mature Iron Age; see G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine* (Leiden, 1985), 267.

proper assessment of what, if anything, Cypriot funerary architecture owed to Phoenicia. Gjerstad himself thought that the chamber tombs of Amathus reflected Asiatic influence from Syria and Palestine, but could not provide any examples contemporary with the Cypro-Archaic tombs of Cyprus.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Ussishkin saw Phoenician influences on the tombs at the 'royal' necropolis at Salamis, drawing parallels from the architecture of the Silwan necropolis in Jerusalem.<sup>51</sup> Karageorghis, however, has argued for Anatolian influence.<sup>52</sup>

The cavetto cornice often seen atop the entrance of this type of built tomb has also been thought to be the result of direct contact with Egypt.<sup>53</sup> But this type of cornice seems to have been part of the Canaanite and Phoenician architectural tradition.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the lotus capitals above the columns shown on terracotta models of Cypriot shrines have been seen as examples of Egyptian architecture,<sup>55</sup> but an Early Iron Age sanctuary in Kamid-el-Loz in Phoenicia may have had similar capitals within its precincts.<sup>56</sup> The so-called Aeolic capitals that ornament the entrances of some of the royal tombs at Tamassos are well-known Phoenician architectural features as well;<sup>57</sup> several examples of these capitals have been found along the southern coast of Cyprus and further inland.<sup>58</sup>

### (c) Statuary

The Egyptianizing elements of Cypro-Archaic limestone and bronze votive figurines seem largely the result of Phoenician influence.<sup>59</sup> In contrast, the terracotta work, as a truly indigenous art-form, is subject

<sup>50</sup> SCE iv.2, 239; cf. F. Vandenabeele, 'La Civilisation d'Amathonte', *BCH* 92 (1968), 113-14.

<sup>51</sup> D. Ussishkin, 'Observations on the Architecture of the "Royal" Tombs in Salamis', *PEQ* 101 (1971), 92-102; J. L. Myres, 'Notes on the "Prison of Saint Catherine" at Salamis in Cyprus', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914-15), 179-94, had already commented on the similarities.

<sup>52</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, 1 (Nicosia, 1967), 123.

<sup>53</sup> V. Tatton-Brown, 'Gravestones of the Archaic and Classical Periods: Local Production and Foreign Influences', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident* (n. 28), 440 n. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians* (London, 1968), 46, fig. 2 (aedicule at Amrit, 6th-5th cent.; for the dating, see P. Wagner, *Der ägyptische Einfluss auf die phönizische Architektur* (Bonn, 1980), 4-5); 47, fig. 3 (aedicule at Ain el-Hayat, uncertain date); Gubel (n. 34), 90, no. 5 (naiskos from Sidon; ? 6th-5th cent.); R. Hachmann (ed.), *Frühe Phöniker im Libanon* (Mainz, 1983), 72, fig. 37 (Kamid el-Loz shrine; early Iron Age).

<sup>55</sup> A. Badawy, *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 65, fig. 10.

<sup>56</sup> Hachmann (n. 54), 72, fig. 37.

<sup>57</sup> See, in particular, P. P. Betancourt, *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 46-9; Y. Shiloh, *Qedem*, xi. *The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry* (Jerusalem, 1979), 35-9.

<sup>58</sup> For a list of examples, see Shiloh (n. 57), 35-9.

<sup>59</sup> Above, pp. 82-4.

more to local inspiration than to outside influence, although various types of Phoenician terracottas are found in the island.<sup>60</sup> Vandenabeele has also noted some Phoenician influences on Cypro-Archaic terracottas, but it need not have been the case that influences were travelling exclusively in this direction.<sup>61</sup>

### (d) Glyptics

The Archaic Cypriot seals made of hard stones such as cornelians, quartzes, and jaspers are clearly allied with the glyptic tradition of Western Asia, rather than of Egypt. The latter area did not, in general, use seals cut from hard stones. Usually, the devices are Egyptianizing in appearance, set within linear borders with plain or cross-hatched exergues; sometimes a papyrus-motif appears in the background (Pl. 42).<sup>62</sup> To an extent, Cypriot seals show some preference for zig-zag exergues<sup>63</sup> and flying or perched birds as filling motifs.<sup>64</sup>

The motifs and shapes of Cypriot serpentine seals are far more summary and less carefully produced than the ones on hard-stone seals. But on the whole, they appear to derive from the same glyptic tradition, serving as a less expensive variant. Particular examples have the somewhat lumpy beetle-shape probably derived from the Phoenician type; often the spines are ridged or gable-shaped.<sup>65</sup>

### GREEK INFLUENCES

Around the middle of the sixth century, Hellenic influences become markedly apparent in Cyprus. Earlier, however, some local imitations of

<sup>60</sup> Above, pp. 32-5. For the different types of Phoenician terracottas from Cyprus, note e.g. A. M. Bisi, 'Terracotta Figures', in S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (Milan, 1988), 328-53.

<sup>61</sup> F. Vandenabeele, 'Phoenician Influence on the Cypro-Archaic Terracotta Production and Cypriot Influence Abroad', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident* (n. 28), 351-60; F. Vandenabeele, 'Les Terres cuites chypriotes à lampe', in *Praktika tou Deuterou Diethnous Kyprologikou Suneidriou* (Nicosia, 1985), 301-6; ead., 'L'Influence phénicienne sur la coroplastie chypriote', *Studia Phoenicia*, 3 (1985), 203-11. See also C. Beer, 'Eastern Influences and Style? A Reconsideration of Some Terracottas of Cypriote Manufacture', in F. Vandenabeele and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Cypriote Terracottas* (Brussels and Liège, 1991), 77-85.

<sup>62</sup> On the general iconography of Phoenician seals, see W. Culican, 'The Iconography of Some Phoenician Seals and Seal Impressions', *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, 1 (1968), 50-103; id., 'A Phoenician Seal from Khaldeh', *Levant*, 6 (1974), 195-200; K. Gallig, 'Beschriftete Bildsiegel des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. vornehmlich aus Syrien und Palästina', *ZDPV* 64 (1941), 121-202.

<sup>63</sup> Boardman, *AGGems*, 24.

<sup>64</sup> e.g. Boardman, *GGFR*, 182; pl. 329; SCE ii, 710, no. 1120; pl. 244, no. 6; 758, no. 2257; 770, no. 2626; R.-P. Charles, 'Les Scarabées égyptiens et égyptisants de Pyrga, district de Larnaca (Chypre)', *ASAE* 58 (1964), 29-30, no. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Boardman, *AGGems*, 14.



Greek pottery had been made, and for several centuries the Greek language had been spoken in the island. The Hellenic influences of the late Cypro-Archaic period derive mainly from East Greece and Attica.

#### (a) Pottery

A broad, chronological distinction may be made between the Greek influences apparent on local pottery before and after c.700 BC. Prior to that time, the influence of Euboian ceramics predominates, reflecting the beginnings of commercial enterprise on the part of the mainland Greeks after the end of the Late Bronze Age. In this, the Euboians at the site of Lefkandi seem to have played a crucial role. Thus, the characteristic pendent semi-circle decoration on Euboian cups is imitated at Salamis, Amathus, Ayia Irini, and other sites throughout the island from the tenth century.<sup>66</sup>

From 700 BC onwards, and particularly after the middle of the seventh century, East Greek influences can be detected on Cypriot ceramics. Local imitations of East Greek cups and skyphoi have been noted from Kition,<sup>67</sup> Amathus,<sup>68</sup> Salamis,<sup>69</sup> and Ayia Irini (Pl. 43).<sup>70</sup> Often, for example, the animal friezes and decorative ornaments depicted on Cypriot figured pottery will have East Greek prototypes. An aryballos from Amathus in the shape of a double head wearing a Corinthian helmet is probably influenced by similar aryballoi from Rhodes (Pl. 44).<sup>71</sup> The moulded figure of a woman that acts as a spout on examples of the 'Marion-jug' group<sup>72</sup> probably owes something stylistically to East Greek terracottas.<sup>73</sup>

By the late sixth century, Attic black- and red-figured vases were being exported widely in the Mediterranean. But their influence on the island's ceramic industry was limited. A set of outline drawings on fragments of a Bichrome vase from Morphou, near Marion, has been

<sup>66</sup> See, in general, J. N. Coldstream, 'Early Greek Visitors to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age* (London, 1989), 90–6.

<sup>67</sup> J. N. Coldstream, 'The Greek Geometric and Plain Archaic Imports', in Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition* (n. 33), 19, no. 14.

<sup>68</sup> e.g. V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1986', *BCH* 111 (1987), 725; 727, fig. 219.

<sup>69</sup> Y. Calvet and M. Yon, 'Salamine de Chypre et le commerce ionien', in *Les Céramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident* (Paris, 1978), 50 and n. 52; M. Yon, 'Céramiques grecques et imitations chypriotes', in H. A. G. Brijder, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984), 236, fig. 2b.

<sup>70</sup> Rochetti (n. 20), 109.

<sup>71</sup> V. Karageorghis, 'Kypriaka IX', *RDAC* 1986, 52–4.

<sup>72</sup> Above, p. 110.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. e.g. A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce, *CVA Great Britain*, ii. *British Museum*, ii (London, 1926), pl. 18, no. 17, with R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967), pl. 14, no. C.

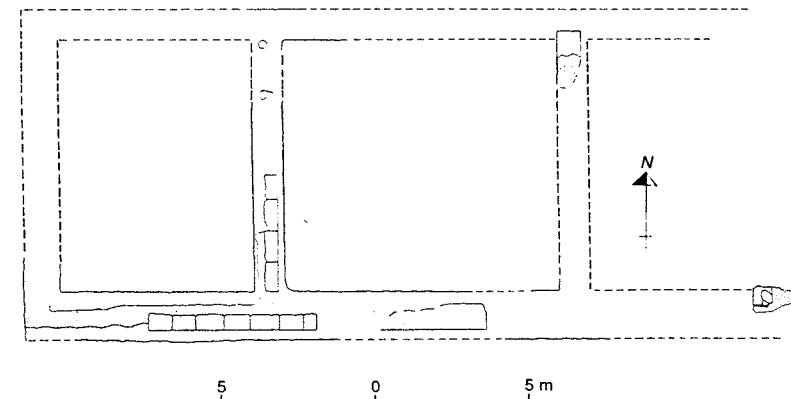


FIG. 16. Plan of a temple (?) on the acropolis at Soloi (After SCE iii, 412, fig. 217)

compared to Attic styles of drawing.<sup>74</sup> A metal imitation of a 'Little Master' cup is reported from a tomb in the Nicosia area.<sup>75</sup> Gjerstad saw some similarities between the shapes of Cypriot and Attic pots.<sup>76</sup> The local black-figure style of Amathus has already been noted.<sup>77</sup>

Matthäus has also detected Greek elements beginning to appear in Cypriot metal vessels from Amathus, Marion, Nicosia, Paphos, Salamis, and Tamassos during the Cypro-Geometric III period.<sup>78</sup> But at this time, Hellenic influences are less prevalent than Near Eastern ones.<sup>79</sup> By the close of the Cypro-Archaic period, however, Greek influences are paramount among the metal vessels.<sup>80</sup>

#### (b) Architecture

As examples of Greek-style architecture in Cyprus during the Cypro-Archaic period, the following are usually noted:<sup>81</sup> (1) a temple built in *antis* at Soloi (Fig. 16); (2) a temple at Vouni-Paradisotissa (Fig. 17);

<sup>74</sup> CCSF (text vol.), 11.

<sup>75</sup> Chavane (n. 31), 46–7.

<sup>76</sup> SCE iv.2, 307.

<sup>77</sup> Above, p. 110–11.

<sup>78</sup> See, in general, the listing in Matthäus (n. 31), 355–6.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 355.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. 356.

<sup>81</sup> See e.g. P. Dikaio, 'A Conspectus of Architecture in Ancient Cyprus', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 24 (1960), 20–1; the Ionic frieze from Soloi mentioned by Dikaio probably dates to the late 5th or early 4th cent.; cf. P. Dikaio, *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, 3rd edn. (Nicosia, 1961), pl. 23, no. 3.

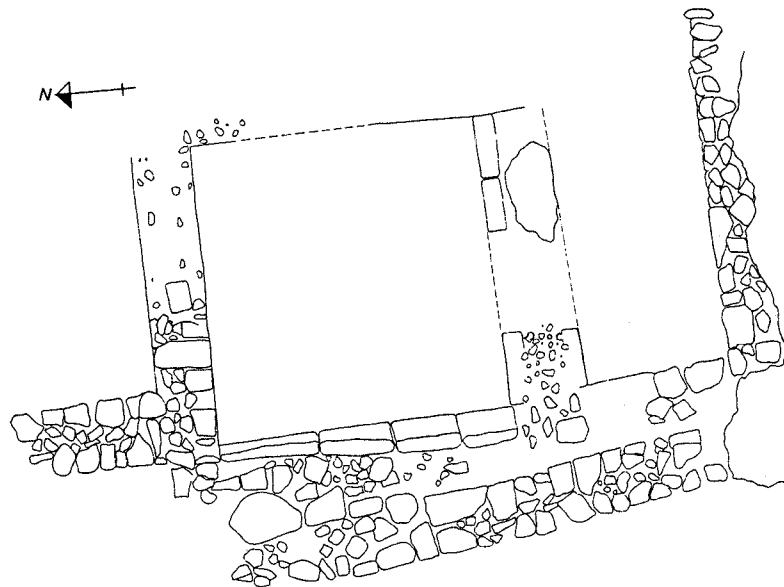


FIG. 17. Plan of a temple (?) at Vouni-Paradisotissa. W. of entrance, c.3 m. (After SCE iii, plan 28, appearing after p. 296; no scale provided)

(3) a Doric entablature and anta capital 'probably Archaic' and found at Soloi (Fig. 18); and (4) assorted Doric and Ionic capitals (Pl. 45). The evidence that the first two structures are Greek temples is not compelling, since so little of them actually survives. The north and west walls of the former are missing,<sup>82</sup> and it is not clear that the latter did not have additional rooms to the east.<sup>83</sup> In neither case, moreover, is the plan of the building inconsistent with the conventional plan of a Cypriot cult-building, as represented by local terracotta models.<sup>84</sup> The architectural fragments from Soloi belonging to a Doric building are equally unconvincing as evidence for a strong tradition of Hellenic architecture in the island, since the profiles of the fragments do not presuppose a date before Hellenistic times, and the context in which they were found contained Hellenistic material.<sup>85</sup>

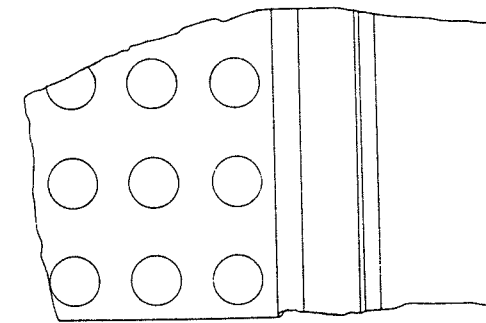
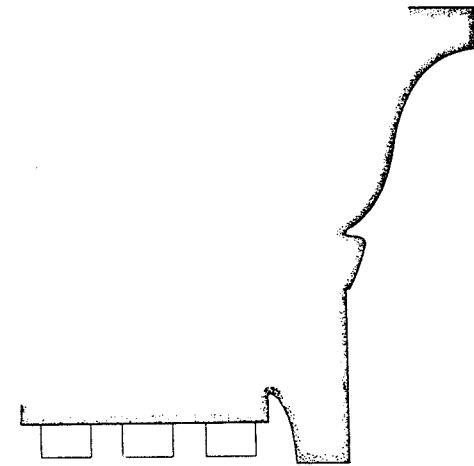
None of the Doric capitals identified as 'early' has an archaeological

<sup>82</sup> SCE iii, 412.

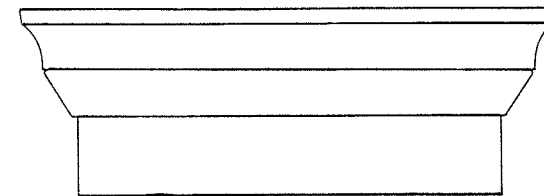
<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 296 and plan 28.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. above, pp. 28–32.

<sup>85</sup> SCE iii, 576, nos. 66–7, with pls. 183–4.



(a)



(b)

FIG. 18. Architectural fragments from a Doric structure at Soloi. (a) Profile moulding of a cornice block. Total ht. 0.198 m. (b) Doric capital. Total l. 0.353 m. Total ht. 0.124 m. (After SCE iii, pl. 183, no. 10 and 184, no. 16)

context.<sup>86</sup> Gjerstad saw these as 'Archaic',<sup>87</sup> but their profiles and proportions are not inconsistent with a date in the fourth century or later. Of the surviving Ionic capitals, however, a small number may, on stylistic grounds, be considered Cypro-Archaic in date.<sup>88</sup> They were all probably used for votive purposes, and, in their carving they show the influence of the East Greek islands.<sup>89</sup>

It seems likely, then, that there was no firm tradition of Greek architecture in Cyprus, essentially until after the Cypro-Archaic period. The few surviving Ionic capitals, although indicative of an awareness of Greek traditions, fall largely within the second half of the sixth century. They seem to have served as votive offerings, not as architectural members, but whether they were dedicated by Cypriots or Greeks cannot be said, in the absence of epigraphical evidence.

### (c) Statuary

East Greek influence on local Cypriot limestone sculpture has long been recognized.<sup>90</sup> Salamis, in particular, has provided a sequence of three types of limestone korai from a sculptural deposit that provides evidence for the beginnings of the local adaptation of East Greek work. Type I korai are stiffly rendered in an early Archaic, East Greek manner (Pl. 46),<sup>91</sup> whereas Type II examples lack the hieratic rigidity of their predecessors and are modelled in the round, with one leg advanced in front of another (Pl. 47).<sup>92</sup> Type III korai appear in a Sub-Archaic style that maintains the old emphasis on frontality, but adds complexities of drapery and headdress (Pl. 48).<sup>93</sup>

The oldest of the Type I korai appear to belong to the early sixth century, and the type probably continued into the final years of that century.<sup>94</sup> Stylistic analysis of the type II korai, which are particularly

<sup>86</sup> G. Jeffery, 'Notes on the Origin of the Doric Style of Architecture', *Archaeologia*, 78 (1928), 37–60.

<sup>87</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 23.

<sup>88</sup> Examples: W. Kirchhoff, *Die Entwicklung des ionischen Volutenkapitells* (Bonn, 1988), 54, no. 37, with bibliography; V. Karageorghis, 'Kypriaka VII', *RDAC* 1984, 210, fig. 1, with bibliography; 211, fig. 2; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH*, 186–7 (= K. Nicolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition* (Göteborg, 1976), 220); F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum* i.2 (London, 1931), 146, no. C.449; fig. 231. See also H.-G. Buchholz, 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1977 bis 1986', *AA* 1987, 196–9.

<sup>89</sup> Karageorghis (n. 88), 212–13.

<sup>90</sup> See e.g. C. Albizzati, 'Una scultura ionica da Cipro', *RPAA* 5 (1928), 33–9; *SCE* iv.2, 112–22.

<sup>91</sup> M. Yon, *Salamine de Chypre*, v (Paris, 1974), 28–30.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 43–8.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 64–8.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* 29–30.

close to the East Greek korai in appearance, suggests that they were not typical until after 550 BC.<sup>95</sup> The type III korai may all be assigned between the end of the sixth and the fifth centuries.<sup>96</sup> The early adaptations of East Greek kouros at Salamis—draped, with one foot advanced, and sometimes holding musical instruments—also fall within the second half of the sixth century.<sup>97</sup>

There are also indications that sculptors from the Greek mainland may have influenced local Cypriot sculptors or else have practised in Cyprus. Aeginetan traits have been identified,<sup>98</sup> and some Attic and Peloponnesian influences have been suggested for a few late Archaic works.<sup>99</sup> The appearance of Aeginetan characteristics is not unexpected, since Aeginetans are the only Greek mainlanders mentioned by Herodotos as having been particularly active in Naukratis.<sup>100</sup> It may well be, in fact, that much of the mainland influence is derived second-hand from observations made in Naukratis.

### (d) Glyptics

In the second half of the sixth century, certain Cypriot seals betray East Greek influences in their treatment of particular motifs, although some Near Eastern traits still remain evident. Typical is a group of seals usually with devices showing lions with high-bristling manes rendered in an East Greek manner and probably manufactured in the island (Pl. 49).<sup>101</sup> In the late Archaic period also, the series of 'Graeco-Phoenician' scarabs begins, often cut in a stone commonly called green jasper and with devices that exhibit an admixture of Greek and Near Eastern elements (Pl. 50).<sup>102</sup> Several examples are known from Cyprus and the Levant. It is not certainly the case, however, that the island was a major centre for the production of the series.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 43.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 64.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 18; on the late archaic kouros from Salamis, see also N. Weill, 'Une tête de kouros archaïque à Salamine de Chypre', in L'Institut F. Courby, *Salamine de Chypre*, iv (Paris, 1973), 57–79.

<sup>98</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 363; C. Rolley, 'Les Deux Têtes chypriotes du Musée d'Auxerre', *RLouvre*, 11 (1961), 259–64.

<sup>99</sup> *SCE* iv.2, 363; K. Nicolaou, 'Zeus Keraunius of Kition', *OpAth* 5 (1964), 37–45.

<sup>100</sup> *Hdt.* 2. 178. 3.

<sup>101</sup> Boardman, *AGGems*, 130–2.

<sup>102</sup> On the Graeco-Phoenician style on so-called 'green jasper' gems, see, in general, B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, iii (Oxford, 1988), 70–2.

<sup>103</sup> On the chronology and provenances of green jasper gems, see, in general, Buchanan and Moorey (n. 102), 70–4; J. Boardman, 'Scarabs and Seals: Greek, Punic, and Related Types', in R.

### Foreign Imports in Cyprus

It is now possible to look at some of the imports found in different parts of Cyprus in order to plot, to whatever extent possible, the external contacts characteristic of a particular area.

#### PHOENICIAN POTTERY

It is necessary, in theory, to differentiate between ceramics from North Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine that have been found in Cyprus. In practice on the basis of current knowledge it is possible only to comment, with any degree of confidence, on the Phoenician pottery of Cyprus, largely through the work of P. M. Bikai.<sup>104</sup> Her studies suggest that, after the Cypro-Geometric period, there is a shift of Phoenician interest from the regions around Kouklia (Paphos) in the west to areas further east, along the southern coast. Furthermore, she continues:<sup>105</sup>

For the first time, evidence for contact between Phoenicia and the north coast is substantial. Indeed, the quantities of Phoenician pottery at Ayia Irini may be an indication that there is a trading station nearby. It should be noted that the Phoenician pottery of Ayia Irini (as well as that found at Philia and Nicosia) appeared to this writer to be more akin to that of Sarepta, within the Sidonian sphere of influence, than to that of Kition-Kathari, which appears to be specifically Tyrian. There may be a very, very faint hint here of some division of the trading spheres of the northern and southern Cypriote coasts between Tyre and (perhaps) Sidon. This is, however, highly speculative; what is certain is that Phoenician pottery was imported to Larnaca in quantity in this period, and it is common at Amathus. Materials of the Amathus horizon [i.e. after 700 to after 600 BC] occur in the Limassol, Larnaca, and Salamis areas, but again not in the north, and, interestingly, not to any great degree, in the west.

The quality of the ceramic material at Amathus differs from that at Kition. At Amathus, the limited variety of Phoenician ceramics suggests extensive trade, rather than the existence of a Phoenician quarter. The range of Phoenician ceramics at Kition is more extensive.<sup>106</sup> But the precise nature of the relationship between Kition and Amathus, in so far

D. Barnett and C. Mendleson (eds.), *Tharros* (London, 1987), 99–103. Note also D. Collon, 'The Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop', in M. Kelly-Buccellati (ed.), *Insight through Images* (Malibu, Calif., 1986) 57–70; O. Keel, 'Die Jaspis-Skarabäen-Gruppe: Eine vorderasiatische Skarabäen Werkstatt des 17. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', in O. Keel et al. (eds.), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), 209–42.

<sup>104</sup> In addition to Bikai, *PPC*, see also works by the same author in the bibliography.

<sup>105</sup> Bikai, *PPC*, 70.

<sup>106</sup> Bikai (n. 33), 5.

as trade with the Phoenician mainland is concerned, remains obscure.<sup>107</sup> Culican has pointed out that Amathus is 'next in line to traffic reaching the natural landfall at Kition for ships leaving central Phoenicia.'<sup>108</sup>

#### GREEK POTTERY

From the tenth century BC until the late eighth century, the importation of Greek Protogeometric and Geometric pottery from Euboia and Attica to Cyprus is most evident along the southern coast of the island.<sup>109</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that Paphos, Amathus, Kition, and Salamis acted as the principal staging posts for the Euboians as they travelled eastwards to Al Mina and elsewhere.<sup>110</sup> These sites were also ports of call for the Phoenicians, especially those from Tyre, as they travelled from the Levant to the Dodecanese and points further west.<sup>111</sup>

The importance of northern Cyprus to early Greek travellers is more difficult to assess. In the north, examples of Greek imports and imitations of skyphoi seem scattered and isolated.<sup>112</sup> Ayia Irini offers the largest number of examples, and, on current evidence, is the most likely to have been an important port of call for transport between east and west. Given the preponderance of Phoenician pottery, however, as well as the Phoenician influences apparent on the styles of the seals from that area,<sup>113</sup> it is probable that the site was primarily used by Near Eastern tradesmen, in addition to local Cypriots.

The period between 700 and 650 BC has been seen as a period of stagnation for Cyprus, in so far as imports from the Greek world are

<sup>107</sup> On the relations between Phoenicia, the Greek world, Kition, and Amathus, see also J. N. Coldstream, 'Kition and Amathus: Some Reflections on their Westward Links during the Early Iron Age', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident* (n. 28), 321–9.

<sup>108</sup> W. Culican, 'The Repertoire of Phoenician Pottery', in H. G. Niemeyer (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz, 1982), 47.

<sup>109</sup> See, in general, J. N. Coldstream, 'Early Greek Visitors to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean', in Tatton-Brown (n. 66), 90–6, with bibliography; note also I. S. Lemos and H. Hatcher, 'Early Greek Vases in Cyprus: Euboean and Attic', *OJA* 10 (1991), 197–208.

<sup>110</sup> Coldstream (n. 109); see also J. Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, enlarged edn. (London, 1980), 41–2; M. Popham et al., 'Euboean Exports to Al Mina, Cyprus, and Crete: A Reassessment', *BSA* 78 (1983), 281–90.

<sup>111</sup> For Kos and Rhodes, see J. N. Coldstream, 'The Phoenicians at Ialysos', *BICS* 16 (1969), 1–8; for Crete, id., 'Cypriaca and Cretocypriaca from the North Cemetery of Knossos', *RDAC* 1984, 122–37. See also id., 'Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean', in Niemeyer (n. 108), 261–75.

<sup>112</sup> See, in general, Coldstream, (n. 107), 322 and 326, n. 48; for imitations, see, J. N. Coldstream, 'Geometric Skyphoi in Cyprus', *RDAC* 1979, 262–6.

<sup>113</sup> See above, p. 131.

concerned.<sup>114</sup> A few Attic amphorae may possibly be assigned to within this period, but even so, their number is too small to be significant.<sup>115</sup> Why this decline should have taken place is difficult to explain, but disruptions in the Greek mainland, may, at least in part, provide a reason. At this time, Lefkandi, one of the principal Euboian settlements, is destroyed, and it is likely that there were political disturbances elsewhere in Greece.<sup>116</sup>

By the second half of the sixth century, an appreciable number of Greek imports appear again, continuing steadily into the fifth century. Two broad groups may be distinguished: the imports from East Greece, and those from Attica. There are only a few examples of Corinthian pottery,<sup>117</sup> and some Laconian fragments are also known from Kition<sup>118</sup> and Amathus.<sup>119</sup> These may well have reached Cyprus by means of Attic, East Greek, or Cypriot carriers.

#### (a) East Greece and Cyprus

The East Greek ceramic imports are most apparent at Amathus, Kition, and Salamis along the southern coast, and Marion and Soloi in the north-west. The different types of East Greek transport-amphorae have begun to be identified on the basis of shape and clay-analysis; they provide some indication of the different Greek islands involved in this trade.<sup>120</sup> The Chian amphora is most readily identifiable. Often globular in shape and ornamented with large bands and a sideways S on the shoulder, it is attested

<sup>114</sup> J. Boardman, 'Crete and Cyprus in the Seventh Century BC', in *The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, c. 2000–500 BC* (Nicosia, 1979), 268 and 319–21 for discussion; cf. *SCE* iv.2, 317 ('In Cypro-Archaic I–II, there is a steadily increasing import of East Greek pottery'); A.-M. Collombier, 'Céramique grecque et échanges en méditerranée orientale: Chypre et la côte syro-phénicienne', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 239–48; L. W. Sørensen, 'Greek Pottery from the Geometric to the Archaic Period Found in Cyprus', *Acta Hyperborea*, 1 (1988), 20–1.

<sup>115</sup> Note A. W. Johnston, 'Imported Greek Storage Amphorae', in Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition*, iv (n. 33), 37, no. 1–2.

<sup>116</sup> On the destruction of Lefkandi, see M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett (eds.), *Lefkandi*, i (London, 1979/80), 369; on Attica and elsewhere in the 7th cent. BC, see R. Osborne, 'A Crisis in Archaeological History? The Seventh Century BC in Attica', *BSA* 84 (1989), 297–322.

<sup>117</sup> See e.g. J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford, 1984), 108, with references.

<sup>118</sup> Coldstream (n. 67), 18–19, no. 11.

<sup>119</sup> Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 81, no. 184.

<sup>120</sup> Clay-analysis of East Greek ceramics has shown that the identification of the different wares by traditional archaeological methods is less precise than had been supposed (see e.g. P. Dupont, 'Amphores commerciales archaïques de la Grèce de l'est', *PdP* 204–7 (1982), 193–209; id., 'Un approche en laboratoire des problèmes de la céramique de Grèce de l'est', in *Les Céramiques* (n. 69), 290–7; R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies* (Athens, 1986), 659–71. What follows, therefore, is based, in part, on the publication of some preliminary results, and should by no means be taken as definitive.

in Marion, Soloi, Amathus, and Salamis;<sup>121</sup> its bobbin-shaped variant is attested in Kition and Marion.<sup>122</sup> Clazomenian amphorae have been identified in Salamis and Kition,<sup>123</sup> and amphorae from Lesbos are known from Marion, Kition, and Salamis.<sup>124</sup> Amphorae tentatively assigned to Miletos have been identified at Marion, Kition, and Salamis.<sup>125</sup> What may be Samian amphorae are reported from Marion and possibly Salamis.<sup>126</sup>

Rhodian amphorae have yet to be identified conclusively by clay-analysis. But this is not to deny the importance of Rhodes to Cyprus. It seems likely that some of the Wild-Goat style pottery found at Amathus and Salamis were manufactured in Rhodes.<sup>127</sup> Bird-bowls and so-called Ionian cups from the same sites have Rhodian parallels,<sup>128</sup> but these types of ceramics were manufactured widely in the East Greek world.

For the most part, the presence of Ionian cups and other East Greek wares in the areas of Salamis, Amathus, Kition, Marion, and Soloi follow the patterns outlined by the East Greek amphorae. Chian phialai and chalices are known from Amathus, Marion, and Salamis.<sup>129</sup> Samian connections may be suspected for some of the East Greek pots from Amathus, Kition, and Salamis.<sup>130</sup> Thalmann and Walter-Karydi have, in addition, identified an Aeolian group of Greek pottery in Amathus.<sup>131</sup> On the northern coast of Cyprus, Ionian cups and imitations are also known from Ayia Irini,<sup>132</sup> and there are a few examples of East Greek wares from sites further inland such as Meniko and Idalion.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>121</sup> See e.g. P. Bernard, 'Céramiques de la première moitié du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle à Thasos', *BCH* 88 (1964), 138 n. 7; Dupont, 'Amphores' (n. 120), 195–6.

<sup>122</sup> Coldstream (n. 67), pl. 18, no. 9 (Kition); *SCE* ii, 399, nos. 22 and 26, pl. 77, nos. 1–2, and 140, nos. 2 and 4; 402, no. 3; 451, no. 13; pl. 86, no. 2 (Marion).

<sup>123</sup> Karageorghis, *Salamis* (n. 52), 63, no. 22; pl. 116, 224 (Salamis); Coldstream (n. 67), 18, no. 10; pl. 16, nos. 9 and 18, no. 10 (Kition).

<sup>124</sup> *SCE* ii, pl. 86, no. 2; 450, no. 4 (Marion); Dupont, 'Amphores' (n. 120), 202 (Salamis); Johnston (n. 115), 40–1 with n. 8 (Kition).

<sup>125</sup> Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 19, nos. 119–20; pl. 11; pl. 23, nos. 1 and 3 (Salamis); *SCE* ii, 393, no. 6; pl. 75, no. 1; 416, no. 17; pl. 79 (Marion); Johnston (n. 115), 41, nos. 38–40; pls. 28, 31–2 (Kition).

<sup>126</sup> *SCE* ii, pl. 132, no. 11; Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, pl. 23, no. 4.

<sup>127</sup> Note e.g. Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 74; Calvet and Yon (n. 69), 45–6.

<sup>128</sup> e.g. J. N. Coldstream, 'The Greek Geometric and Archaic Imports', in V. Karageorghis *et al.*, *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, tombes 113–367*, ii. *Céramiques non chypriotes* (Nicosia, 1987), 29–31; Calvet and Yon (n. 69), 44–6; Coldstream (n. 67), 21–2. For Rhodian faience at Salamis and Kition, note V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience* (Warminster, 1978), 7.

<sup>129</sup> P. Dikaios, 'Two "Naukratite" Chalices from Marion', *JHS* 66 (1946), pl. 1; J. Boardman, 'A Chian Mesomphalos from Marion', *RDAC* 1968, 12–15.

<sup>130</sup> e.g. Coldstream (n. 128), 31; Calvet and Yon (n. 69), 47; Johnston (n. 115), 39.

<sup>131</sup> E. Walter-Karydi, 'Äolische Kunst', in *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Berne, 1970), 3, no. 4; Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 74.

<sup>132</sup> Above, p. 132.

<sup>133</sup> Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 34, no. 156; 35, no. 166; 38.

A small amount of East Greek Fikellura pottery is also attested in Amathus, Marion, Paphos, and Salamis.<sup>134</sup> It may also be argued that the figured decoration of some Fikellura pottery derives from the 'free-field style' decoration of Cypriot Bichrome pottery.<sup>135</sup> A banquet scene on an amphora from Amathus has been argued to be a direct imitation of a scene from a Fikellura pot found in the same area (Pl. 32).<sup>136</sup>

(b) *Attica and Cyprus*

As with the East Greek amphorae, the Attic amphorae give some indication of the principal areas in Cyprus with which the Greek mainland was in contact.<sup>137</sup> But it is, as yet, difficult to be precise about the chronological development of this type of amphora. By the seventh century, however, Attic SOS amphorae were reaching Kition and Salamis.<sup>138</sup> One sixth-century (?) amphora is also reported from Marmari, possibly from the necropolis of Dhenia, west of Nicosia.<sup>139</sup> It provides evidence for the trade inland in wine or oil.

Within the first half of the sixth century, the amount of Attic black-figure pottery imported into Cyprus increases steadily, until by the second half they comprise a significant part of the archaeological record. Of some importance in this regard are Marion, Amathus, Kition, and Salamis.<sup>140</sup> Marion, in particular, provides the most impressive quantities of black-figure pottery, perhaps the result of Athenian interest in the nearby copper mines.<sup>141</sup> By the end of the sixth century, Attic black-glazed wares were reaching Kition, as well as Marion.<sup>142</sup>

Athenian potters seem to have been aware of the special interests of the market at Marion. Three black-figure oinochoai with long necks and

<sup>134</sup> e.g. Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 36, no. 177; 80, no. 171; F. G. Maier and M.-L. Wartburg, 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos)', *RDAC* 1985, 106; W. A. P. Childs, 'First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Polis Chrysochous by Princeton University', *RDAC* 1988/2, 124; pl. 40, no. 4.

<sup>135</sup> R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972), 132.

<sup>136</sup> J. des Gagniers, 'Une Fête champêtre sur une amphore d'Amathonte', *RA* 1972, 53-6.

<sup>137</sup> See, in particular, A. W. Johnston and R. E. Jones, 'The "SOS" Amphora', *BSA* 73 (1978), 103-41; Johnston (n. 115), 37-9.

<sup>138</sup> Johnston and Jones (n. 137), 113-14; 121; 141.

<sup>139</sup> V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1959', *BCH* 84 (1960), 278-9, no. 3; fig. 57.

<sup>140</sup> For examples, see J. Perreault, 'Les Importations attiques au Proche-Orient du vi<sup>e</sup> au milieu du v<sup>e</sup> s.', *BCH* 110 (1986), 165-9.

<sup>141</sup> As pointed out in R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 480.

<sup>142</sup> L. Jehasse, 'La Céramique attique à vernis noir de Kition de la fin du vi<sup>e</sup> à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.C.', in Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition*, iv (n. 33), 75-9. The sequence of Attic black-glazed ware at Salamis does not seem to begin until the end of the 5th cent.: L. Jehasse, *Salamine de Chypre*, viii (Paris, 1978), 4.

globular bodies that were found at Marion are modelled on Cypriot shapes. They were, perhaps, deliberately intended for export to Cyprus.<sup>143</sup> Beazley called these pots 'Cypro-jugs'<sup>144</sup> and thought that two of these were by one potter (Pl. 51). 'As to the pictures,' he said, 'there is not much to compare, but nothing to exclude their being by one painter.'<sup>145</sup>

To the three examples from Marion, Beazley added a fourth from Amathus,<sup>146</sup> and a fifth has recently been discovered from the same site.<sup>147</sup> With this group, Gjerstad also associated an amphora of Attic clay, but with a Cypriot shape, found at Amathus.<sup>148</sup> It is possible that these objects may have arrived in Amathus from Marion. As in Marion, the earliest black-figure cups in Amathus belong to the first half of the sixth century, but the greater number of examples date to the second half.<sup>149</sup>

Examples of black-figure pottery from Kition fall largely within the last quarter of the sixth century, and there are no examples of red-figure pottery prior to about 480 BC.<sup>150</sup> The earliest black-figure cup known from Kition has been attributed to the Centaur Painter,<sup>151</sup> who probably worked in the third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>152</sup> Since a number of works by or near his hand are also known from Marion,<sup>153</sup> it is possible that this cup reached Kition from that area. The correspondence between the Attic pottery from Kition and from Al Mina on the coast of North Syria suggested to Robertson that the 'two collections surely reflect the same trade; indeed, vases dedicated at Kition may well have passed the dépôt at Al Mina . . .'<sup>154</sup>

Further examples of Attic black- and red-figure wares are known

<sup>143</sup> M. Robertson, 'The Attic Black-Figure and Red-Figure Pottery', in Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition*, iv (n. 33), 70.

<sup>144</sup> *ABV*, 441.

<sup>145</sup> J. D. Beazley, 'Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum', *Papers of the British Academy*, 33 (1947), 225.

<sup>146</sup> *ABV*, 441, no. 1.

<sup>147</sup> M. Robertson, 'The Pottery', in Karageorghis *et al.* (eds.), *Nécropole*, ii (n. 128), 33-4.

<sup>148</sup> Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 52, no. 502; pl. 57.

<sup>149</sup> Perreault (n. 140), 167; note also J. Maxmin, 'Bêtes Noires from Amathus', *RDAC* 1982, 183-6.

<sup>150</sup> Perreault (n. 140), 166.

<sup>151</sup> Robertson (n. 143), 53, no. 14.

<sup>152</sup> F. Villard, 'Le Peintre des centaurs', in G. Mylonas and P. Raymond (eds.), *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* (St Louis, 1953), 65-9.

<sup>153</sup> Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 45, nos. 406-8; 46, nos. 426-7; 47, no. 437; J.-J. Maffre, 'Vases grecs de la collection Zénon Piérides à Larnaca (Chypre)', *BCH* 95 (1971), 640-5.

<sup>154</sup> Robertson (n. 143), 69. For possible Cypriot influence on some locally produced pottery at Al Mina during the 8th cent., see J. Boardman, 'Greek Potters at Al Mina?', *AS* 9 (1959), 163-9; see also Boardman (n. 110), 41-2; id., 'Al Mina and History', *OJA* 9 (1990), 183-4.

from Chytroi, Kourion, Lamboussa, Paphos, Salamis, and Vouni.<sup>155</sup> But it is, as yet, difficult to judge the significance of these finds.<sup>156</sup> That the regions inland participated in the trade represented by these Attic pots is attested by the extensive finds in Idalion, Agrokippia, and Tamassos.<sup>157</sup> At Tamassos, the earliest black-figure import is an early sixth-century skyphos by the artist known as the KX Painter.<sup>158</sup>

## PHOENICIAN GLYPHTIC

In certain instances, the materials out of which certain seals are cut may be indicative of foreign connections. Thus, lapis lazuli, cornelian, or sard, and green jasper do not seem to occur naturally in Cyprus. These materials, whether from Egypt or Western Asia, had to be imported into the island.<sup>159</sup> In the cases of onyx and haematite, it is not clear whether or not the material occurs naturally in Cyprus. The latter had been used for cylinder seals in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>160</sup> But the stone itself may have come from Anatolia or North Syria, where the use of haematite as a glyptic material had a more extensive tradition.<sup>161</sup> Haematite jewellery is also known from Egypt.<sup>162</sup> For onyx, the best-known sources are Arabia and Egypt, particularly from the period of the Twenty-Second Dynasty; it was rarely used in western Asiatic jewellery.

It seems likely, however, that for the Cypriots much of the trade in glyptic materials would have been mediated through Phoenicia. The king of Tyre was apparently renowned in antiquity for his gem-stones, and the seals from Kition, predominantly Egyptianizing in appearance,

<sup>155</sup> H. W. Catling, 'Unpublished Finds from Cyprus', *RDAC* 1988/1, 328–30; Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 47, nos. 441, 472; pl. 47, nos. 4–6; 50, no. 485; pl. 51; 59; L. F. Dias and I. V. Pinto, 'Pottery from the Cella of the Temple', in D. Soren (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, Cyprus* (Tucson, Ariz., 1987), 220–1.

<sup>156</sup> On the poverty of Attic pottery in Paphos, note F. G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos* (Nicosia, 1984), 179.

<sup>157</sup> e.g. Gjerstad, *GGAPC*, 52, no. 503; pl. 58; 50, no. 489; pl. 52; 49, no. 474; pl. 48; 52, no. 498; pl. 55; H.-G. Buchholz, 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1974–76', *AA* 1978, 174.

<sup>158</sup> R. Nicholls and H.-G. Buchholz, 'The Provenance of the Cambridge Skyphos by the KX Painter', *JHS* 98 (1978), 162–4.

<sup>159</sup> For the sources of lapis lazuli in the ancient world, see J. Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (London, 1982), 100–1; G. Herrmann, 'Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of its Trade', *Iraq*, 30 (1968), 21–57; P. R. S. Moorey, *Materials and Manufacture in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1985), pp. xvi–xxii; for cornelian or sard, see Ogden 108; Moorey pp. xxi–xxii. For green jasper, see above, n. 103.

<sup>160</sup> Note e.g. B. Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 98.

<sup>161</sup> D. Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum*, iii (London, 1986), 11; J. Boardman and R. Moorey, 'The Yunus Cemetery Group: Haematite Scarabs', in Kelly-Bucellati (n. 103), 35–48.

<sup>162</sup> Ogden (n. 159), 109.

probably contain examples imported from the Phoenician mainland; devices on the seals from the sanctuary at Ayia Irini betray largely Phoenician influences also.<sup>163</sup> This suggests that the beginnings of hard-stone glyptic in Cyprus during the second half of the seventh century should be associated, at least in part, with a strong Phoenician presence in the island.

## GREEK GLYPHTIC

It seems likely that the Greeks learned the techniques for cutting hard-stone seals in Cyprus around the third quarter of the sixth century BC.<sup>164</sup> Since most of the hard-stone gems reported as having been found on the island are from Amathus and Kourion,<sup>165</sup> it was probably in this area that the Greeks would have acquired the necessary skills for this particular art. Eventually, the Cypriots came to import East Greek gems. The hard-stone seals of Marion, in particular, are almost exclusively East Greek in character.<sup>166</sup>

It is not possible, in general, to be precise about the provenances of most of the East Greek gems found in Cyprus. An 'Island Gem' from Soloi<sup>167</sup> was probably imported into Cyprus from Melos, where this type of gem was at home during the second half of the seventh century.<sup>168</sup>

At Kition, a cornelian scarab depicting a youth kneeling and drawing a bow (Pl. 52)<sup>169</sup> falls easily within a group of scarabs, all showing youths, widely current in the late sixth-century Greek mainland, the western Mediterranean, and the Levantine coast.<sup>170</sup> Since much of the glyptic from Kition is Egyptianizing in character,<sup>171</sup> it is likely that this

<sup>163</sup> Ezekiel 28: 13, addressed to the king of Tyre, mentions 'cornelian, topaz, and jasper; chrysolite, beryl, and onyx; sapphire (? lapis lazuli), carbuncle, and emerald' (Revised Standard Version).

<sup>164</sup> For a summary of the argument, see J. Boardman, 'The Cypriot Contribution to Archaic Greek Glyptic', in Tatton-Brown (n. 66), 44–9, with bibliography.

<sup>165</sup> On the cosmopolitan nature of Amathus and Kourion, see above, p. 121. See also Boardman (n. 164), 44.

<sup>166</sup> Exceptional are Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH*, 366, no. 29, pl. 32, no. 29; *SCE* ii, 370, no. 40, pl. 70, nos. 1–2; and Culican (n. 62), 57, fig. 2; 60 n. 54. In all, some fifteen hard-stone seals are known from Marion.

<sup>167</sup> J. Boardman, 'Island Gems Aftermath', *JHS* 88 (1968), 8–9, no. J6; E. Zwiwerlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorisches Museums in Wien*, i (Munich, 1973), 35 no. 13, with bibliography; Zazoff, *AGDS* iii, 191, no. 9; C. Höcher, *Antike Gemmen* (Kassel, 1987/8), 55–6.

<sup>168</sup> On this type of gem and its chronology, see, in general, Boardman, *IGems*.

<sup>169</sup> J. Boardman and M.-L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1978), 14, no. 68, with bibliography.

<sup>170</sup> Note e.g. for Greece and the western Mediterranean, J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* (Oxford, 1920), 25, no. 30; Boardman, *AGGems*, 99, no. 279, pl. 19; 100, no. 288, 289. For the Levantine coast, note e.g. Boardman, *AGGems*, 99, no. 280; 82, no. 220.

<sup>171</sup> On the seals from Kition, see, in general, G. Clerc et al., *Fouilles de Kition*, ii (Nicosia, 1976).

seal was imported into Kition, but whether from Amathus or Kourion or elsewhere in the Mediterranean is impossible to say.

Similarly, at the sanctuary of Ayia Irini, the same type of youth, depicted in a Greek style, appears on a scarab of grey faience, in which he is seen approaching a dog (Pl. 53).<sup>172</sup> Related to this seal is a scaraboid of clear glass, also from the sanctuary at Ayia Irini, in which a striding bearded figure, shown in a Greek style, is seen carrying an animal (Pl. 54).<sup>173</sup> It is not possible to know whether these seals were imported into Ayia Irini from elsewhere, or manufactured there, perhaps under the influence of the glyptic industries in Amathus, Kourion, or Marion.

A stylistic relationship has been observed between the seals with devices showing youths and the work of the late Archaic gem-cutter known as the Semon Master after the signature cut on a signed gem found in the area around Troy (Pl. 55).<sup>174</sup> Scaraboids from Amathus<sup>175</sup> (Pl. 56) and Marion<sup>176</sup> have been attributed to his hand. Two other seals, one allegedly from Paphos,<sup>177</sup> the other from a tomb at Salamis with an early Cypro-Classical I context,<sup>178</sup> seem related to, perhaps derivative from, the work of the Semon Master in their depictions of Eros flying. Because a number of gems from Cyprus have been attributed to the Semon Master, it has been conjectured that he worked in the island, perhaps somewhere in the southern coast.<sup>179</sup> This is not impossible, but it is important to remember that the one signed gem is from the Troad, and its inscription uses Greek Ionic lettering, rather than the Cypriot syllabary.<sup>180</sup> The Semon Master was probably East Greek.

#### PHOENICIAN STATUARY

The identification of Phoenician terracotta statuary in Cyprus is hindered by the lack of epigraphical evidence or comparative material from the

<sup>172</sup> SCE ii, 769, no. 2607.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid. 771, no. 2678.

<sup>174</sup> See, in general, Boardman, *AGGems*, 94–6, with a listing of seals attributed to the Semon Master. Zwiertein-Diehl, *AGDS* ii, 52, denies the attribution of Boardman, *AGGems*, nos. 257 and 258. See also J. Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings* (London, 1975), 13, 113.

<sup>175</sup> Boardman, *GGFR*, 184, pl. 363, with bibliography.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid. 184, pl. 365, with bibliography.

<sup>177</sup> Boardman, *AGGems*, 98, no. 274, pl. 19, with bibliography.

<sup>178</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, ii (Nicosia, 1970), 114, 116.

<sup>179</sup> M.-L. Vollenweider in V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1964', *BCH* 89 (1965), 237.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. J. Boardman, 'Greek Gem Engravers: Their Subjects and Style', in E. Porada (ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, NJ, 1980), 112.

Levant.<sup>181</sup> Yon and Caubet, however, have argued for the importation of a terracotta chariot figurine from Tyre into Kition.<sup>182</sup>

#### GREEK STATUARY

Actual importation of Greek statuary into Cyprus is rare. A late sixth-century kouros of Parian marble was found in Marion,<sup>183</sup> and the marble sculptures reported from Paphos must also have been imported, since there seems no local source of this material.<sup>184</sup> A bronze head now in the Louvre and reportedly from Cyprus, with its roughly triangular face, layered wig, and *polos*-type head-dress, is close to the Orientalizing 'Daedalic' style current in Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean during the late seventh century (Pl. 57).<sup>185</sup>

#### Spheres of Influence

The fourth-century BC (?) writer known as Pseudo-Skylax tended to see certain Cypriot kingdoms as either Phoenician or Greek.<sup>186</sup> In particular, he saw Salamis and Marion as Greek, and Lapethos as Phoenician. But, as the above survey suggests, the divisions set out by Ps.-Skylax are not, in archaeological terms, as sharp as he says — at least for the Cypro-Archaic period.

The contacts of these kingdoms seem wider than the simple designations 'Greek' and 'Phoenician' would suggest. Salamis, for example, like the rest of the island's southern coast, including Paphos, is more cosmopolitan than he indicates: a significant amount of Phoenician pottery from Salamis dates to around 850 BC.<sup>187</sup> The material remains from Marion manifest primarily Greek influence, and the majority of Attic black- and red-figure pots known from the island were found there. But

<sup>181</sup> The signature of the Phoenician sculptor 'Eshmounilles' is preserved on a stone base dated to the 7th cent. and found at Pyla, north-west of Kition: M. Yon, 'Cultes phéniciens à Chypre', *Studia Phoenicia*, 4 (1986), 131–2. The sculptor's precise origins are not mentioned, however.

<sup>182</sup> M. Yon and A. Caubet, 'Ateliers de Figurines à Kition', in V. Tatton-Brown (n. 66), 32. Cf. J. Crouwel, 'A Group of Terracotta Chariot Models—Cypriote or Phoenician', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur (n. 61), 115–30.

<sup>183</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 3rd edn. (London and New York, 1970), 144, no. 179.

<sup>184</sup> J. B. Connelly, *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1988), 3; Ogden (n. 159), 93; D. Michaelides et al., 'Marble in Cyprus: Classical Times to Middle Ages', in N. Herz and M. Waelkens (eds.), *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade* (London, 1988), 159. For a marble stele found in Marion and dated to between 450 and 420, see J. D. Beazley, 'A Fragment of a Stele from Cyprus', *AJA* 55 (1951), 333–6.

<sup>185</sup> F. Studniczka, 'Ein frühgriechischer Bronzekopf in Karlsruhe', in *Antike Plastik: Walter Amelung zum sechsten Geburtstag* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), 245–54.

<sup>186</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>187</sup> Bikai, *PPC*, 68–9; ead., 'Trade Networks' (n. 104), 125–8.



Phoenician pottery is not unknown.<sup>188</sup> Similarly, Kition, although a Phoenician colony, was in close contact with the Greek world.<sup>189</sup> Not enough is known of Archaic Soloi to indicate its character.

At the kingdom of Lapethos, at least one Phoenician pot dating to the Cypro-Geometric period is reported.<sup>190</sup> From the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period, however, the Phoenician material is far more substantial. The archaeological material from Ayia Irini, presumably in the territory of the kingdom of Lapethos in antiquity, reflects primarily Phoenician influence as well.<sup>191</sup> But a Greek Geometric skyphos is known from the site, and a series of Cypro-Archaic skyphoi, manufactured locally, seems to reflect Hellenic influence.<sup>192</sup>

Similarly, the Cypriot kingdoms inland, in particular Idalion, Tamasos, and Golgoi, cannot be described, on present evidence, as predominantly Greek or Phoenician. The copper industry of the area<sup>193</sup> ensured that it became vital to the island's economy, and, as such, the contacts of these kingdoms were probably extensive and island-wide. They would have mediated whatever cross-island trade there was, and the different ethnic costumes represented on the statuary from Golgoi may well reflect the cosmopolitan flavour of the area.<sup>194</sup>

### *Cypriot Exports to Foreign Lands*

Very little work has been done on the specific details of Cypriot exports into foreign areas. Although Cypro-Archaic material has been identified throughout the entire Mediterranean, from the Iberian peninsula in the west,<sup>195</sup> to Nimrud in the east,<sup>196</sup> it is not possible, in most cases, to identify the particular kingdoms which exported the objects found in the different foreign areas. Consequently, this final section, like the preceding one, simply selects and identifies certain diagnostic groups of

<sup>188</sup> Bikai, *PPC*, 46, nos. 604–5.

<sup>189</sup> Above, pp. 139–40.

<sup>190</sup> Bikai, *PPC*, 9, no. 59; 12, nos. 106–8 ('Kouklia horizon,' c.1050–850 BC).

<sup>191</sup> Bikai, *PPC*, 75, for a listing of examples of Phoenician pottery, and see above, p. 138. For the argument that Lapethos was a colony of Byblos in Hellenistic times, see W. R. Lane, 'The Phoenician Dialect of Larnax tes Lapethou', *BASOR*, no. 194 (April 1969), 39–45.

<sup>192</sup> Rocchetti (n. 20), 109.

<sup>193</sup> Above, p. 40 n. 105.

<sup>194</sup> Above, p. 37.

<sup>195</sup> For a map showing the distribution of Cypriot Bichrome IV pottery in the western Mediterranean, see B. B. Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula: The Archaeological Evidence', in Niemeyer (n. 108), 339–40 with n. 3.

<sup>196</sup> Note e.g. J. DuPlat Taylor, 'The Cypriot and Syrian Pottery from Al Mina, Syria', *Iraq*, 21 (1959), 90–1.

objects that have been thought to indicate ways in which certain kingdoms interacted with their neighbours.

### POTTERY

The foreign associations of the ceramics of Amathus are easiest to trace, since pottery from that area is so distinctively shaped and decorated. Given its extensive contacts, Amathus was well able to serve as a port from which goods from elsewhere in Cyprus were subsequently distributed into the Near East. A vase decorated with a painted Hathor-head, in the local black-figure style of Amathus, is reported from the area around Phokaia and Myrina in western Asia Minor.<sup>197</sup> Vandenabeele has also identified a vase from Tell Sukas on the Syrian coast, 'en forme de tonneau' and dated to the Cypro-Geometric III period, as an import from Amathus.<sup>198</sup> Similarly, DuPlat Taylor noted that Red-Slip and Black-on-Red wares characteristic of Kition and Amathus were represented among the Cypriot wares found at Al Mina in North Syria.<sup>199</sup> Otherwise, the Cypriot pottery 'most clearly resembles types from the sites of Stylli and Idalion on the central plain, easy of access from the east coast, and from a tomb group at Rizocarpaso on the Carpass peninsula'.<sup>200</sup> It is probably from sites like Al Mina along the Levantine coast that the Red-Slip pottery reported from Nimrud would have been brought to Mesopotamia.

### STATUARY

Cypriot statuary, whether of terracotta, limestone, or metal was transported in quantity throughout the Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Near East<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup> A. Hermay, 'Un nouveau chapiteau hathorique trouvé à Amathonte', *BCH* 109 (1985), 679.

<sup>198</sup> F. Vandenabeele, 'Quelques particularités de la civilisation d'Amathonte à l'époque du chypre-géométrique', *BCH* 92 (1968), 113.

<sup>199</sup> DuPlat Taylor (n. 196), 76, 90.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid. 89–90.

<sup>201</sup> For Cypriot terracotta sculptures, see e.g. A. Furtwängler, *Aegina* (Munich, 1906), 378–9, and S. P. Morris, *The Black-and-White Style* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1984), 97 (Aegina); *SCE* iv.2, 323 (Ain Shems); C. L. Woolley, 'The Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia I', *JHS* 18 (1938), 19–20, fig. 6 (Al Mina); H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903), 92, no. B.118; Johnston and Wilson (n. 17), 23–4 (Datça and other sites in Caria); A. Laumonier, *Délos*, xxiii (Paris, 1956), 46–51 (Delos); J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios (1952–1955): Greek Emporio* (London, 1967), 191 (Emporio); A. Maiuri, 'Jalisco e l'Agro Jalisco', *Clara Rhodos*, 1 (1928), 77, fig. 60 (Ialysos); *SCE* iv.2, 330 and G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, 6–7 (1933), 81, fig. 91; 303, fig. 34 (Kameiros); C. Blinkenberg and K. F. Kinch, *Lindos: Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914*, i (Berlin, 1931), 26 with n. 2 (Lindos); L. W. Sørensen, 'Cypriote Terracottas from Lindos in the Light of New Discoveries', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur (n. 61), 225–40 (Lindos, and note p. 237 for Kos); W. M. F. Petrie and E. A.

from at least the middle of the seventh century, through much of the sixth century BC.<sup>202</sup> The transportation of a Paphian terracotta figurine is attested in a story told by the writer Polycharmos of Naukratis, cited above.<sup>203</sup> It is likely that Kition served as one of the ports from which terracotta and limestone figurines from Arsos, Idalion, Aradippo, and other inland sites were shipped to Samos and other islands of East Greece, as well as western Asia Minor.<sup>204</sup> Similarly, Bisi suspected that a terracotta figurine found at Tell Dan in ancient Palestine ultimately came from Arsos, perhaps via Kition, and a limestone head illustrated by Woolley in the publication of his excavations at Al Mina in Syria also seems to be of the Arsos type.<sup>205</sup> A sculptural trade between Kition and Tyre has been suspected.<sup>206</sup> It seems likely too that Amathus and Salamis played a role in exporting Cypriot statuary abroad.<sup>207</sup>

## GLYPHTIC

The foreign connections of Cypriot glyptic remain difficult to assess, but certain associations may be conjectured.<sup>208</sup> Archaic gems with Cypro-

Gardiner, *Naukratis*, i (London, 1886–8), pls. 1–2 (Naukratis); Walters, 95, no. B.133 (Phana, Rhodes); G. Schmidt, *Samos*, vii (Bonn, 1968) (Samos); Ganzmann *et al.* (n. 40), 86–96; SCE iv.2, 323–4 (Sidon); K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia* (Berlin, 1914), 12–14.

For Cypriot limestone sculptures, see e.g. L. W. Sørensen, 'Early Archaic Limestone Statuettes in Cypriot Style', *RDAC* 1978, 111–21 (East Greece and Naukratis); P. J. Riis *et al.*, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures*, i (Copenhagen, 1989), 34–95 (Vroulia, Lindos, Kalathos (Rhodes), Tripolis, Jaffa, Amrit); W. M. Davis, 'Ancient Naukratis and the Cypriotes in Egypt', *GM* 35 (1979), 13–23; id., 'The Cypriotes at Naukratis', *GM* 41 (1980), 7–19 (Naukratis); E. Stern, 'A Group of Cypriot Limestone Sculptures from the Gaza Region', *Levant* 7 (1975), 104–7 (Syria and Palestine); Johnston and Wilson (n. 17), 23–4 (Caria); possibly P. Courbin, 'Rapport sur la x<sup>ème</sup> et dernière campagne à Ras El Bassit', *AAS* 36–7 (1986–7), 109; 118, fig. 13 (Ras el-Basit); Woolley, 19–20 (Al Mina).

<sup>202</sup> On the date by which Cypriot statuary seems to stop being a major export of the island, see Schmidt (n. 201), 98; cf. Ganzmann (n. 40), 128.

<sup>203</sup> See p. 124.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. above, pp. 104–5.

<sup>205</sup> A. M. Bisi, 'Le Rayonnement des terres cuites chypriotes au Levant aux premiers siècles de l'âge du fer', in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989), 260–1; cf. also A. M. Bisi, 'Héritages, emprunts, et survivances chypriotes dans les terres cuites des colonies phéniciennes', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur (n. 61), 88, on Cypriot terracotta votives at Al Mina. For a possible Arsos-type statuette at Al Mina, see Woolley (n. 201), 168, no. MNN 130, pl. XII; for the type, cf. e.g. A. Hermay, *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre: Sculptures* (Paris, 1989), 322.

<sup>206</sup> P. Gaber-Saletan, 'The Limestone Sculpture from Kition', *BMNE* 15 (1980), 41–9; Yon and Caubet (n. 182), 29.

<sup>207</sup> Yon (n. 91), 43; 109; A. Hermay, *Amathonte*, ii (Paris, 1981), 11.

<sup>208</sup> J. Boardman's review of Brandt, *AGDS i-1* in *JHS* 90 (1970), 264, suggests that Brandt's no. 99 from Caesarea (Cappadocia); no. 104 from Athens; no. 106 from Crete; and no. 107 from the Peloponnese are possibly Cypriot. For the motif on no. 104 showing a man standing with arms raised and holding a branch in either hand, cf. SCE ii, 773, no. 2751; pl. 250, no. 13 (Ayia Irini); 756, nos. 2184 and 2190; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan,*

syllabic inscriptions found outside Cyprus have already been noted.<sup>209</sup> Head seals of black serpentine, very close to the ones typical of the Amathus and Kourion areas, are known from Tyre<sup>210</sup> and Zinjirli.<sup>211</sup> For the Cypro-Geometric period, if it is correct to say that conoid seals of blue frit were produced in Amathus, then some sort of contact with Tyre and Sarepta, where other examples are found, is indicated.<sup>212</sup>

The results of this survey may be set against the analysis summarized in Table 5 to provide a schematic overview of the internal and external relations of the island during the Cypro-Archaic period. There are, of course, limits to what may be said about the island's foreign influences and foreign relations, since written evidence is minimal, and few aspects of the surviving material evidence provide unequivocal indications of the state of political and cultural affiliations. When detailed studies are available, not only of the archaeological evidence for the Assyrian and Persian impact on Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria, but also for the relationships of the provinces within the Assyrian and Persian Empires, then a comparison with the evidence from Cyprus will provide a clearer understanding of the political and economic nature of the eastern Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age.

and Roman in the British Museum, rev. edn. (London, 1926), 36, no. 304; Buchanan and Moorey (n. 102), 81, no. 542; pl. 17. For no. 107, showing two men sitting opposite each other, each with one arm raised, and with an incense burner in between, cf. the configuration in Reyes (n. 29), 123, on seal no. 11.

<sup>209</sup> Above, p. 123.

<sup>210</sup> V. E. G. Kenna, *Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum* (Göteborg, 1971), 34, no. 116; pl. 31, with bibliography, probably incorrectly dated to the Late Bronze Age.

<sup>211</sup> L. Jakob-Rost, *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum* (Berlin, 1975), 28, nos. 94–5, with bibliography.

<sup>212</sup> Bikai, *Tyre* (n. 104), pl. 26, no. 14; 85, no. 14; W. P. Anderson, *Sarepta*, i (Beirut, 1988), 393; pl. 39, no. 9, with bibliography.

## Summary and Conclusions

... we refreshed ourselves with good meat and drink, and cooled our half-burnt carcasses in the shade, from whence we did not stir that whole afternoon; but next morning set out for Larneca, where we arrived in safety, without having seen any other thing worth mentioning; except large tracts of fine land, which lie quite uncultivated.

Thus, I finished a tour of about six hundred miles, with less fatigue perhaps than you will undergo in reading the account of it...

A. Drummond, *Travels through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and Several Parts of Asia* (London, 1754), 281

It is now possible to return to the three principal questions posed in the introductory chapter, in order to assess the extent to which they have been answered. To what extent can one establish the chronology of events mentioned in the written sources? How did Cyprus interact with the different foreign powers of the Near East and Egypt? What relations existed between different parts of the island?

### Chronology

Table 6 presents a chronological scheme for Cypro-Archaic history, based on the analysis in Part II of this book. This table may be compared with Table 1, which presents the chronology developed by Gjerstad, and which has been accepted as standard since 1948. The principal distinction between Table 1 and Table 6 lies in the rather less neatly arranged sequence of events presented in the latter. Successive dominations and invasions of Cyprus cannot, as such, be taken as the defining feature of the island's history in the Cypro-Archaic period.

### *Cyprus and the Near East, Egypt, and Greece*

Instead, it is characteristic that the Cypriots were willing to ally themselves with different foreign powers, and to adapt themselves to changing political circumstances, in order to maintain their extensive trading networks. The clarity of the Greek impact on Cypriot material culture of the second half of the sixth century BC contrasts with the

absence of anything in the Cypro-Archaic period that might be called Assyrian or even Assyrianizing, Persian or Persianizing. Those aspects of Cypriot culture which recall Egyptian art are largely, as argued here, the result of Phoenician, rather than Egyptian, contact.

The Phoenicians were mainly active along the southern coast of the island and in the area around Lapethos in the north. The Greeks were also active in the south, but had a particular interest around Marion in the north-west. The inland kingdoms of Tamassos, Idalion, and Golgoi cannot be clearly described as either Phoenician or Greek. In a sense, they are as cosmopolitan as the island's southern coast, in contact with all parts of Cyprus and acquiring their importance from nearby copper mines.

### *The Cypriot Kingdoms*

The conclusions concerning the relationships between the different Cypriot kingdoms must remain highly speculative, dependent, as they are, on evidence that comprises relatively few objects, often from inadequately recorded sites, rather than from controlled excavations. Not surprisingly, the kingdoms of Amathus, Kition, and Salamis seem to have had particularly extensive contacts within the island, and, for this reason in part, they managed to export a number of Cypriot products throughout the Mediterranean. Paphos, Marion, Soloi, and Lapethos had perhaps less extensive internal contacts, limited largely to the western half of Cyprus, though as coastal kingdoms, they too participated in the trade with the Greek and Near Eastern worlds.

In the absence of new textual evidence, what is needed to improve on this picture of Cyprus in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries is further excavation, not so much on the island itself (though that too is needed, particularly in areas that have been inaccessible to research since 1974), but in the ancient sites of mainland Phoenicia, especially north of Sidon. In this way, the relationship between Cyprus and Phoenicia will become more clearly defined. The need for specialist studies of particular classes of Cypro-Archaic objects is also acute, given that, currently, much of Cypriot material culture can be dated in only the most general way.

'... this warlike isle':<sup>1</sup> so Cyprus has often seemed from the Cypro-Archaic period, through the period of the Crusades, until modern times.

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, *Othello*, II. iii. 53.

For the Cypro-Archaic period, however, it is hoped that the preceding chapters have gone some way toward disproving that claim and enhancing the island's reputation.

## Glossary of Technical Terms

The glossary is intended simply to provide the reader with basic information, allowing ready elucidation of the main text and notes. To this end, controversial points and complex details concerning particular terms are left unaddressed. Small capitals denote cross-references.

**Abacus** Flat architectural member at the top of a CAPITAL.

**Aedicule** A small square structure.

**Aeolic capital** CAPITAL with paired, rising volutes (Diagram 1).

**Anta** PILASTER forming the front end of a side wall of a structure.

**Anta capital** CAPITAL atop an ANTA.

**Ashlar masonry** Large square stones laid in horizontal courses.

**Bichrome** Technique of decorating Cypriot pottery using black paint and a supplementary red, on a buff SLIP.

**Bichrome Red** Technique of decorating Cypriot pottery, whereby ornaments are painted in black, with added white, on a reddish-brown SLIP; added red is occasionally used.

**Black-on-Red** Technique of decorating Cypriot or Phoenician pottery, whereby ornaments are painted black, on a red or reddish-brown SLIP.

**Capital** Top member of a vertical support (Diagrams 2, 3).

**Cavetto** Concave moulding of a quarter-round profile (Diagram 4).

**Cavetto cornice** Upper architectural member with a CAVETTO profile.

**Cella** Central chamber of a temple.

**Column** A vertical support (Diagrams 2, 3).

**Corbelled blocks** Stones forming a roof, arranged in such a way that one stone is positioned on top of another so as to overlap, until the hole resulting at the top is small enough to be covered by one stone.

**Cornice** Uppermost part of an ENTABLATURE (Diagrams 2, 3).

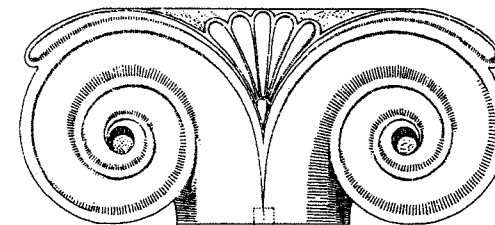


DIAGRAM 1. An Aeolic capital. (After R. Koldewey, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos* (Berlin, 1890), pl. 16, no. 2)

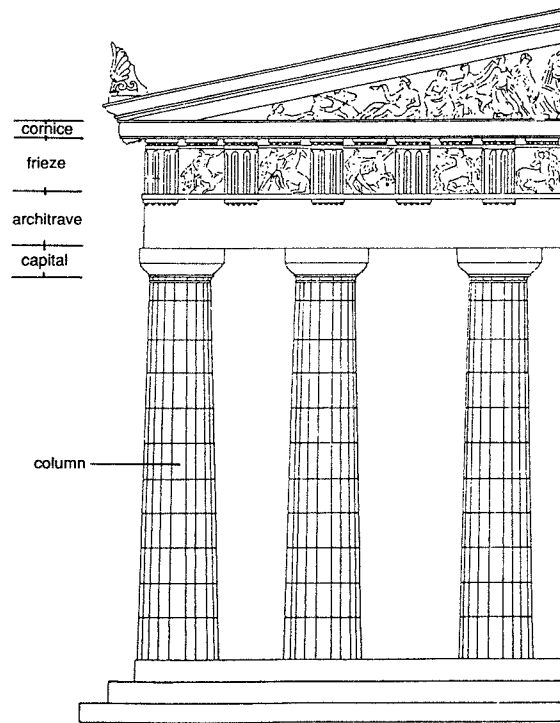


DIAGRAM 2. The Doric architectural order. (After R. Ling, *The Greek World* (Oxford, 1976), 121)

**Cypriot syllabary** The writing system of Cyprus, in which signs, each one denoting a syllable, are used to represent the Greek language.

**Distyle in antis** Arrangement for a temple-porch, in which two COLUMNS are placed between ANTAE.

**Doric capital** CAPITAL characteristic of the Doric order of Greek temple-building; generally used in mainland Greece and the western colonies of Greece (Diagram 2).

**Dromos** Long passageway leading to a burial chamber.

**Entablature** Horizontal architectural elements supported by COLUMNS (Diagram 3).

**Exergue** The part of a seal-device below the ground line (Diagram 6).

**Glyptic** Pertaining to the art of cutting engraved designs on gems or rings.

**Header-stretcher** Method of constructing a wall, whereby ASHLAR MASONRY is alternately laid along the line of the wall and at right angles to it (Diagram 5).

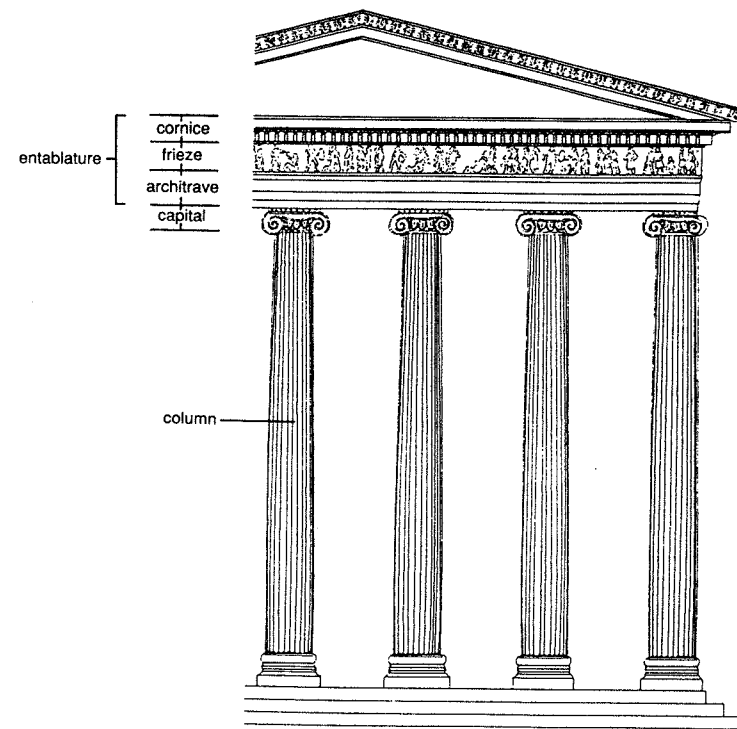


DIAGRAM 3. The Ionic architectural order. (After R. Ling, *The Greek World* (Oxford, 1976), 121)

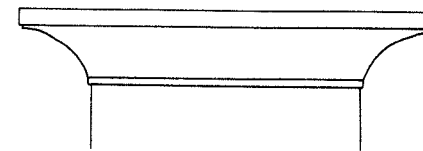


DIAGRAM 4. A cavetto profile

**In antis** COLUMN arrangement for a temple-porch, in which the COLUMNS are placed between ANTAE.

**Ionic capital** CAPITAL characteristic of the Ionic order of Greek temple-building; characteristic of temples in Asia Minor (Diagram 3).

**Lintel** Horizontal beam across the top of a doorway, supported by the door-jamb.

**Liwan** Three-sided room or hall open to the front.

**Lost-wax casting** Process for manufacturing bronze objects, in which the

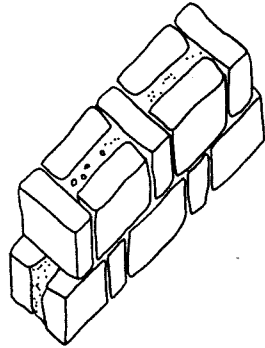


DIAGRAM 5. Header-stretcher construction. (After I. Sharon, *BASOR* no. 267 (1987), 25, fig. 2a)

object is modelled in wax around a core, usually made of clay; the model is then coated in clay and baked, with vents left for the wax to escape; metal is poured into the resulting cavity, and the baked clay is broken to recover the bronze object.

**Pilaster** Engaged vertical support with a rectangular cross-section.

**Pitched roof** Roof with sloping sides, triangular in section.

**Red-slip** Pottery with a plain red or reddish-brown SLIP.

**Repoussé design** Pattern created by hammering a metal sheet from the back, causing the design to appear on the front in relief.

**Seal** Hard object with a carved design intended to be seen in impression (Diagram 6).

**Sealing** Clay or other material bearing the impressed device of a SEAL.

**Slip** Solution of clay and water applied to the surface of a pot to give a colour different from that of the actual body of the vessel.

**Stoa** Open, colonnaded hall, perhaps with shops at the back.

**White Painted** Technique of decorating Cypriot pottery, in which ornaments are painted black on a buff SLIP.

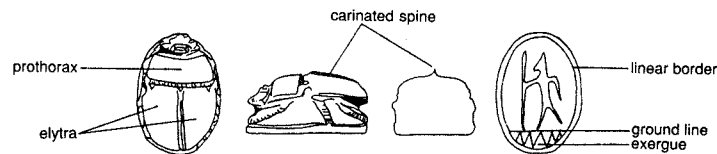


Diagram 6. A scarab seal.

## Tables

TABLE I

*The standard chronology for Cypriot history in the Cypro-Archaic period*

This table reproduces the one in D. Hunt (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus*, 1st edn. (London, 1982), 278, which summarizes, in essentials, Gjerstad's chronological conclusions in *SCE* iv.2, 449–78.

|                    |                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 709 BC             | Seven Cypriot kings pay homage to Sargon II of Assyria.                                                                                                  |
| 709–c.663          | Assyrian domination.                                                                                                                                     |
| 673/2              | Ten Cypriot kings pay homage to Esarhaddon of Assyria.                                                                                                   |
| c.663–569          | Cypriot kingdoms independent.                                                                                                                            |
| c.569              | Amasis of Egypt takes control of Cyprus.                                                                                                                 |
| c.569–545          | Egyptian rule.                                                                                                                                           |
| 560–525            | Reign of Euelthon of Salamis.                                                                                                                            |
| c.545 <sup>1</sup> | Cypriot kings transfer allegiance to Cyrus the Great, king of Persia; beginning of Persian domination.                                                   |
| c.521              | Included in the fifth satrapy of the Persian Empire under Darius.                                                                                        |
| 499                | Outbreak of Ionian revolt against Persian rule; participation of all Cypriot cities except for Amathus, at the instigation of Onesilos, king of Salamis. |
| 498                | Reduction of Cypriot cities.                                                                                                                             |

<sup>1</sup> The second edition of Hunt, *Footprints* (London, 1990), 296 dates the entry of Cyprus into the Persian Empire to c.525 BC.

TABLE 2

*Kings and kingdoms of Cyprus, mentioned in an inscribed clay prism of 673/2 BC*

The names are listed in the order in which they appear on the prism. The transliteration from the Akkadian follows R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assurhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (Graz, 1956), 60.

Ekšūra, king of Edil (Idalion)  
 Pišagura, king of Kīrusi (Chytroi)  
 Kisu, king of Silha (? Salamis or Soloī)  
 Itundar, king of Pappa (Paphos)  
 Eresu, king of Silli (? Salamis or Soloī)  
 Damasu, king of Kuri (Kourion)  
 Admesu (? Gīrmesu), king of Tamesi (Tamasos)  
 Damusi, king of Qarḥadast (usually equated with Kitton)  
 Unasagusu, king of Lidir (Ledra)  
 Bušusu (? Pušusu), king of Nūria (uncertain)

TABLE 3

*Chronological schemes proposed for Cypriot sculpture*

All dates are approximate.

|                         | Gjerstad<br>(1948) <sup>1</sup> | Schmidt<br>(1968) <sup>2</sup> | Vermeule<br>(1974) <sup>3</sup> | Lewe<br>(1975) <sup>4</sup> | Gaber-Saletan<br>(1986) <sup>5</sup> |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1st Proto-Cypriot style | 650–560                         | 670/660–610/600                | 600–560                         | 650/640–590/580             | 600–560                              |
| 2nd Proto-Cypriot style | 600–540                         | 670/660–610/600                | 560–540                         | 650/640–590/580             | 560–540                              |
| Cypro-Egyptian style    | 570–545                         | —                              | —                               | —                           | —                                    |
| Neo-Cypriot style       | 560–520                         | 610/600–560/550                | —                               | 590/80–550/540              | 550–520                              |
| Cypro-Greek style       | 540–450                         | post-550                       | post-540,<br>most 520–480       | post-550                    | —                                    |
| Cypro-Archaic style     | —                               | —                              | —                               | —                           | 520–480                              |
| Sub-Archaic style       | —                               | —                              | post-490                        | —                           | 490–450                              |

<sup>1</sup> SCE iv.2.

<sup>2</sup> G. Schmidt, *Samos*, vii.

<sup>3</sup> C. C. Vermeule, 'Cypriote Sculpture . . .', 287–90.

<sup>4</sup> B. Lewe, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik*.

<sup>5</sup> P. Gaber-Saletan, *Regional Styles in Cypriote Sculpture: The Sculpture from Idalion*.

*Known Cypriot kings of the 6th and early 5th centuries BC*

*Idalion*

Ki-[...] (ruling c. 500)

*Kourion*

Stasanor (ruling 498)

[DiFeithemis, a 'prince' (c. 6th cent.)]

*Lapethos*

Demodokos (ruling c. 500)

*Paphos*

Stasis (ruling c. 6th cent.)

Onasicharis (ruling c. 6th cent.)

*Salamis*

Euelthon (ruling c. 518)

[Siromos ?]

Chersis

Gorgos (ruling c. 500) Onesilos (ruling 498)

*Unknown*

Named on 'Paphian' coinage: A-[...]

Pu-[...]/Pu-nu-[...]

Siromos

Named in Hdt. 7. 98:

Timonax, son of Timagoras

*Internal relations of the Cypriot kingdoms*

|          | Amathus | Arsos | Chytroi | Idalion | Karpass | Kition | Kourion | Lapethos | Ledra | Marion | Paphos | Salamis | Soloi | Tamassos |
|----------|---------|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|---------|----------|-------|--------|--------|---------|-------|----------|
| Amathus  | —       |       |         | x       | x       | x      | x       |          |       | x      |        |         |       | x        |
| Arsos    |         | —     |         |         |         | x      | x       | x        |       |        |        |         |       |          |
| Chytroi  |         |       | —       |         |         |        |         |          |       | x      |        |         |       |          |
| Idalion  | x       |       |         | —       |         | x      | x       |          |       |        |        | x       |       |          |
| Karpass  | x       |       |         |         | —       |        | x       |          |       |        |        | x       |       |          |
| Kition   | x       | x     |         | x       |         | —      | x       | x        |       |        |        | x       |       |          |
| Kourion  | x       | x     |         | x       | x       | x      | —       |          |       | x      | x      | x       |       |          |
| Lapethos |         | x     |         |         |         | x      |         | —        |       |        |        |         |       |          |
| Ledra    |         |       |         |         |         |        |         |          | —     |        |        | x       |       | x        |
| Marion   | x       |       | x       |         |         |        | x       |          |       | —      | x      | x       |       |          |
| Paphos   |         |       |         |         |         |        | x       |          |       | x      | —      |         | x     |          |
| Salamis  |         |       |         | x       | x       | x      | x       |          | x     | x      |        | —       |       | x        |
| Soloi    |         |       |         |         |         |        |         |          |       |        | x      |         | —     |          |
| Tamassos | x       |       |         |         |         |        | x       |          | x     |        |        | x       |       | —        |

x = evidence of contact



TABLE 6

*Chronology of Cypro-Archaic history*

|            |                                                                                                  |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| c. 707 BC  | Cypriot kings send gifts in tribute to Sargon II.                                                |
| ?          | Luli, king of the Sidonians, stops a revolt in Kition.                                           |
| 701        | Luli flees Sennacherib and escapes to Cyprus.                                                    |
| 673/2      | Esarhaddon receives building materials from ten kings of Cyprus.                                 |
| 667        | The same ten kings march with Ashurbanipal against the Nubian king Taharqa.                      |
| 612        | The fall of Nineveh.                                                                             |
| c. ?574-70 | Naval engagement involving Cyprus, Phoenicia, and the Pharaoh Apries.                            |
| c. ?570    | Amasis blockades (?) Cyprus; establishment of treaty (?) relationship between Cyprus and Amasis. |
| 568/7      | Amasis defeats Nebuchadrezzar II and Apries with Cypriot help.                                   |
| c. 525     | Cyprus enters the Persian Empire.                                                                |

*Bibliography*

See also items cited in the list of abbreviations, p. xxiii. The annual 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre' appearing in *BCH* is an essential reference.

- ACKROYD, P. R., 'Problems in the Handling of Biblical and Related Sources in the Achaemenid Period', in Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, cited below, 33-54. *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo, 1976* (Munich, 1979).
- ADAMS, W. Y., 'Archaeological Classification: Theory versus Practice', *Antiquity*, 62 (1988), 40-56.
- ADELMAN, C. M., *Cypro-Geometric Pottery: Refinements in Classification* (Göteborg, 1976).
- AHARONI, Y., *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981).
- 'Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Arad', *IEJ* 16 (1966), 1-7.
- AKURGAL, E., *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin, 1961).
- ALABE, F., and PETIT, T., 'Le Palais', *BCH* 113 (1989), 899-910.
- 'Le Palais', *BCH* 114 (1990), 996-1023.
- ALBENDA, P., 'A Mediterranean Seascape from Khorsabad', *Assur* 1983, 1-34.
- ALBIZATTI, C., 'Una scultura ionica da Cipro', *RPAA* 5 (1928), 33-9.
- AMADASI GUZZO, M. G., 'Noms de vase en phénicien', *Semitica*, 38 (1990), 15-25 (= *Hommages à Maurice Sznycer*, i).
- 'Painting', in Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians*, cited below, 448-55.
- and KARAGEORGHIS, V., *Fouilles de Kition*, iii (Nicosia, 1977).
- AMANDRY, P., 'Petits objets de Delphes', *BCH* 68-9 (1944-5), 36-74.
- AMIRAN, R., *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1969).
- and DUNAYEVSKY, I., 'The Assyrian Open-Court Building and its Palestinian Derivatives', *BASOR*, no. 149 (February 1958), 25-32.
- AMMERMAN, R. M., 'The Naked Standing Goddess: A Group of Archaic Terracotta Figurines from Paestum', *AJA* 95 (1991), 203-230.
- ANDERSON, W. P., *Sarepta*, i (Beirut, 1988).
- ANDREWES, A., *The Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956).
- Antike Plastik: Walter Amelung zum sechsten Geburtstag* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), 245-54.
- Archéologie au Levant: Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah* (Lyons, 1982).
- ÅSTRÖM, P., 'Trade in the Late Bronze Age', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited below, 202-8.
- AUPERT, P., 'Amathonte, le Proche-Orient, et l'Égypte', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited below, 369-82.
- 'Amathonte: Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux de l'école française d'Athènes (1975-1979)', *RDAC* 1980, 217-38.

- AUPERT, P., and HELLMANN, M.-C. (eds.), *Amathonte*, i (Paris, 1984).
- AUSTIN, M. M., *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age* (Cambridge, 1970).
- 'Greek Tyrants and the Persians', *CQ* 40 (1990), 289–306.
- BADAWY, A., *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).
- BARNETT, R. D., 'Ezekiel and Tyre', *EI* 9 (1969), 6–13.
- 'Phoenicia and the Ivory Trade', *Archaeology*, 9 (1956), 87–97.
- and MENDLESON, C. (eds.), *Tharros* (London, 1987).
- BASCH, L., *Le Musée imaginaire de la marine antique* (Athens, 1987).
- BASS, G. (ed.), *A History of Seafaring* (London, 1972).
- BAURAIN, C., *Chypre et la méditerranée orientale au Bronze Récent* (Paris, 1984).
- 'Passé légendaire, archéologie et réalité historique: L'Hellenisation de Chypre', *Annal. Econ. Soc. Civ.* 44, no. 2 (mars/avril 1989), 463–77.
- 'Réflexions sur les origines de la ville d'après les sources littéraires', in Aupert and Hellman, cited above, 109–17.
- 'Un autre nom pour Amathonte de Chypre?', *BCH* 105 (1981), 361–72.
- BEARDSLEY, G. H., *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* (Baltimore, 1929).
- BEAZLEY, J. D., 'A Fragment of a Stele from Cyprus', *AJA* 55 (1951), 333–6.
- *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* (Oxford, 1920).
- 'Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum', *Papers of the British Academy*, 33 (1947), 195–243.
- BECK, C. and JONES, G. T., 'Bias and Archaeological Classification', *American Antiquity*, 54 (1989), 244–62.
- BEER, C., 'Eastern Influences and Style? A Reconsideration of Some Terracottas of Cypriote Manufacture', in Vandenaebale and Laffineur, cited below, 77–85.
- 'Quelques aspects des contacts de Chypre aux viii<sup>e</sup> et vii<sup>e</sup> siècles avant notre ère', *Opus*, 3 (1984), 253–64.
- BENNETT, C. G., 'The Cults of the Ancient Greek Cypriots', Ph.D. thesis (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1980).
- BENNETT, C.-M., 'Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan', in Hadidi, cited below, 181–7.
- 'Some Reflections on Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan', in Moorey and Parr, cited below, 165–71.
- BENSON, J. L., 'The Amathus Workshop', *RDAC* 1982, 138–43.
- 'Birds on Cypro-Geometric Pottery', in Robertson (ed.), *Recent Developments*, cited below, 129–50.
- 'A Cypro-Geometric Workshop Reconsidered', in *Studies . . . Dikaios*, cited below, 129–38.
- *The Necropolis of Kaloriziki* (Göteborg, 1973).
- 'A Problem in Orientalizing Cretan Birds', *JNES* 20 (1961), 73–84.
- BERNARD, P., 'Céramiques de la première moitié du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle à Thasos', *BCH* 88 (1964), 77–146.

- BETANCOURT, P., 'An Aeolic Shrine in Philadelphia', *AJA* 75 (1971), 427–38.
- *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* (Princeton, NJ, 1977).
- BETTS, J. H., et al. (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, ii (Bristol, 1988).
- BIEBER, A. M., 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Cypriot Pottery', in Stager and Walker, cited below, 357–71.
- BİKAI, P. M., 'The Phoenician Imports', in Karageorghis et al., *Kition*, iv, cited below, 23–35.
- 'The Phoenician Pottery', in Karageorghis et al. (eds.), *Nécropole*, ii, cited below, 1–19.
- *The Phoenician Pottery of Tyre* (Warminster, 1978).
- 'Trade Networks in the Early Iron Age: The Phoenicians at Palaepaphos', in Rupp (ed.), *Western Cyprus*, cited below, 125–8.
- BIRAN, A., 'Tell Dan, 1977', *IEJ* 27 (1977), 242–6.
- BIRMINGHAM, J., 'The Chronology of Some Early and Middle Iron Age Cypriot Sites', *AJA* 67 (1963), 15–42.
- BISI, A. M., 'Héritages, emprunts, et survivances chypriotes dans les terres cuites des colonies phéniciennes', in Vandenaebale and Laffineur, cited below, 87–92.
- 'Le Rayonnement des terres cuites chypriotes au Levant aux premiers siècles de l'âge de fer', in Peltenburg, (ed.), *Early Society*, cited below, 256–65.
- 'Terracotta Figures', in Moscati, (ed.), *The Phoenicians*, cited below, 328–53.
- BLINKENBERG, C. and KINCH, K. F., *Lindos: Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914*, i (Berlin, 1931).
- BOARDMAN, J., 'Al Mina and History', *OJA* 9 (1990), 169–90.
- *Athenian Black-Figure Vases* (London, 1974).
- 'A Chian Mesomphalos from Marion', *RDAC* 1968, 12–15.
- 'Crete and Cyprus in the Seventh Century BC', in *Relations*, cited below, 264–8.
- 'The Cypriot Contribution to Archaic Greek Glyptic', in Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Iron Age*, cited below, 44–9.
- 'Cypriot, Phoenician, and Greek Seals and Amulets', in Karageorghis et al. (eds.), *Nécropole*, v, cited below, 159–63.
- *Excavations in Chios (1952–1955): Greek Emporio* (London, 1967).
- *Escarabeos de Piedra, Procedentes de Ibiza* (Madrid, 1984).
- 'Greek Gem Engravers: Their Subjects and Style', in Porada, cited below, 101–14.
- 'Greek Potters at Al Mina?', *AS* 9 (1959), 163–9.
- *Greeks Overseas*, enlarged. edn. (London, 1980).
- 'Iconographica Cypria', *RDAC* 1976, 152–5.
- *Intaglios and Rings* (London, 1975).
- 'Island Gems Aftermath', *JHS* 88 (1968), 1–12.
- 'The Lyre Player Group of Seals: An Encore', *AA* 1990, 1–17.

- BOARDMAN, J., 'Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire', *Iran* 8 (1970), 19-45.
- 'Scarabs and Seals: Greek, Punic, and Related Types', in Barnett and Mendleson, cited above, 99-103.
- 'ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΘΙΔΟΣ', *RDAC* 1971, 37-42.
- and MOOREY, R., 'The Yunus Cemetery Group: Haematite Scarabs', in Kelly-Buccellati, cited below, 35-48.
- and Vollenweider, M.-L., *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1978).
- BÖHM, S., *Die 'nackte Göttin'* (Mainz, 1990).
- BOLGER, D. and PELTENBURG, E., 'The Building Model', in Peltenburg, *Lemba*, ii.2, cited below, 12-27.
- BONDI, S. F., 'City Planning and Architecture', in Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians*, cited below, 248-83.
- BONNET, C., 'Les Étrangers dans le corpus épigraphique phénicien de Chypre', *RDAC* 1990, 141-53.
- *Melqart* (Leuven, 1988) = *Studia Phoenicia*, 8.
- BORDA, M., 'Aspetti della scultura arcaica cipriota', *RPAA* 22 (1946-7), 87-154.
- BORDREUIL, P., *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits* (Paris, 1986).
- and Gubel, E., 'Bulletin d'antiquités archéologiques du Levant inédites ou méconnues, IV', *Syria*, 64 (1987), 309-21.
- BORGER, R., *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (Graz, 1956).
- BÖRKER-KLÄHN, J., *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (Mainz, 1982).
- BOUSQUET, B., and PÉCHOUX, P.-Y., 'Géographie du site', in Aupert and Hellmann, cited above, 119-46.
- BOWRA, C. M., 'Homeric Words in Cyprus', *JHS* 54 (1934), 54-74.
- BRAUN-HOLZINGER, E. A., *Figürliche Bronzen aus Mesopotamien* (Munich, 1984).
- BREMMER, J., (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London and Sydney, 1987).
- BRIJDER, H. A. G. (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984).
- BRINKMAN, J., 'The Akkadian Words for "Ionia" and "Ionian"', in Sutton, cited below, 53-71.
- *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* (Rome, 1968).
- BUCHANAN, B. and MOOREY, P. R. S., *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, iii (Oxford, 1988).
- BUCHHOLZ, H.-G., 'Der Gott Hammon und Zeus Ammon auf Zypern', *AM* 106 (1991), 85-128.
- 'Max Ohnefalsch-Richter als Archäologe auf Zypern', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 11-12 (1989), 3-27.
- 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1970-72', *AA* 88 (1973), 295-388.
- 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1973', *AA* 89 (1974), 554-614.
- 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1974-76', *AA* 1978, 155-230.

- BUCHHOLZ, H.-G., 'Tamassos, Zypern, 1977 bis 1986', *AA* 1987, 165-228.
- BUDDE, L., and NICHOLLS, R., *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1964).
- BITRON, D., 'The Archaic Precinct at Kourion: 1981 Excavations', *RDAC* 1982, 144-7.
- BITRON-OLIVER, D., 'Hellenic Trends at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, Kourion', in Karageorghis, (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited below, 383-92.
- BULLARD, R., 'Environmental Geology', in Soren, cited below, 53-71.
- BUNNENS, G., *L'Expansion phénicienne en méditerranée* (Brussels and Rome, 1979).
- BURKERT, W., 'Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels', in Bremmer, cited above, 10-40.
- BURTON, A., *Diodorus Siculus, Book 1: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1972).
- CAIN, H.-U. et al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (Mainz, 1989).
- CALMEYER, P., 'Die sogenannte fünfte Satrapie und die achaimenidischen Documente', *Transeuphratène*, 3 (1990), 109-29.
- CALVET, Y., 'Sur certains rites funéraires à Salamine de Chypre', in *Salamine de Chypre*, cited below, 115-21.
- and YON, M., 'Salamine de Chypre et le commerce ionien', in *Céramiques*, cited below, 43-51.
- CAPOMACCHIA, A. M. G., *Semiramis: Una femminilità ribaltata* (Rome, 1986).
- CARRADICE, I. (ed.), *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (Oxford, 1987).
- CARON, J.-B. et al. (eds.), *Mélanges d'études anciennes offerts à Maurice Lebel* (Quebec, 1980).
- CARTER, J. B., 'The Masks of Ortheia', *AJA* 91 (1987), 355-83.
- CASSIMATIS, H., 'Des Chypriotes chez les pharaons', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 1 (1984), 33-8.
- 'Terres cuites chypriotes à Dublin', *RDAC* 1986, 173-82.
- CASSON, S., 'Professor Gjerstad on Cyprus', *JHS* 59 (1939), 287-8.
- CATLING, H. W., 'Archaeological Comment', in Jones, cited below, 574-613.
- 'The Seal of Pasitimos', *Kadmos*, 11 (1972), 55-78.
- 'Unpublished Finds from Cyprus', *RDAC* 1988/1, 325-30.
- CAUBET, A., 'Archéologie et médecine: L'Exemple de Chypre', *DossArch*, no. 123 (January 1988), 76-81.
- 'Les Maquettes architecturales d'Idalion', in *Studies . . . Dikaiois*, cited below, 94-118.
- 'Recherches sur les ateliers de terres cuites de la partie occidentale de Chypre', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 109-14.
- 'Les Sanctuaires de Kition à l'époque de la dynastie phénicienne', *Studia Phoenicia*, 4 (1986), 153-68.
- and PIC, M., 'Un culte hathorique', in *Archéologie*, cited above, 237-49.
- and YON, M., 'Deux appliques murales chypro-géométrique au Louvre', *RDAC* 1974, 112-31.

- Céramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident*, Les (Paris, 1978).
- CHAMOUX, F., *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris, 1953).
- CHAPMAN, O. M., *Across Cyprus* (London, 1937).
- CHARLES, R.-P., 'Les Scarabées égyptiens et égyptisants de Pyrga, district de Larnaca (Chypre)', *ASAE* 58 (1964), 1-34.
- CHAVANE, M.-J., *Vases de bronze du Musée de Chypre* (Lyons, 1982).
- CHILDS, W. A. P., 'First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Polis Chrysochous by Princeton University', *RDAC* 1988/2, 121-30.
- CHRISTOU, D., 'A Cypro-Geometric Tomb from "Latsia" Rizokarpasso', *RDAC* 1972, 143-55.
- CHRISTODOULOU, D., *The Evolution of the Rural Land Use Pattern in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1959).
- CINTAS, P., *Manuel d'archéologie punique*, i (Paris, 1970).
- CLERC, G., 'Aegyptiaca de Palaepaphos-Skales', in Karageorghis, *Alt-Paphos*, iii, cited below, 375-95.
- CLERC, G., et al., *Fouilles de Kition*, ii (Nicosia, 1976).
- COBHAM, C. D., *Excerpta Cypria* (Cambridge, 1908).
- COGAN, M., *Imperialism and Religion* (Missoula, Mont., 1974).
- COLDSTREAM, J. N., 'Cypriaca and Cretocypriaca from the North Cemetery of Knossos', *RDAC* 1984, 122-37.
- 'Early Greek Visitors to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean', in Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Iron Age*, cited below, 90-6.
- 'The Geometric and Archaic Periods', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology . . . 1985*, cited below, 47-59.
- 'Geometric Skyphoi in Cyprus', *RDAC* 1979, 255-69.
- 'The Greek Geometric and Archaic Imports', in Karageorghis et al. (eds.), *Nécropole*, ii, cited below, 21-31.
- 'The Greek Geometric and Plain Archaic Imports', in Karageorghis et al., *Kition*, iv, cited below, 17-22.
- *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968).
- 'Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean', in Niemeyer, cited below, 261-75.
- 'Kition and Amathus: Some Reflections on their Westward Links during the Early Iron Age', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited below, 321-9.
- *The Originality of Ancient Cypriot Art* (Nicosia, 1986).
- 'The Phoenicians of Ialysos', *BICS* 16 (1969), 1-8.
- 'Status Symbols in Cyprus in the Eleventh Century BC', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited below, 325-35.
- and BIKAI, P. M., 'Early Greek Pottery in Tyre and Cyprus', *RDAC* 1988/2, 35-44.
- COLLOMBIER, A.-M., 'Céramique grecque et échanges en méditerranée orientale: Chypre et la côte syro-phénicienne', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 239-48.
- 'Harbour or Harbours of Kition on Southeastern Coastal Cyprus', in Raban, cited below, 35-46.

- COLLOMBIER, A.-M., 'Organisation du territoire et pouvoirs locaux dans l'île de Chypre à l'époque perse', *Transjordanica*, 4 (1991), 21-43.
- COLLON, D., *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum*, iii (London, 1986).
- *First Impressions* (London, 1987).
- 'The Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop', in Kelly-Buccellati, cited below, 57-70.
- CONNELLY, J. B., 'Continuity and Change: The Cypriot Votive Tradition and the Hellenistic Koine', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 93-100.
- 'Standing Before One's God: Votive Art and the Cypriot Religious Traditions', *Biblical Archaeologist*, 52 (1989), 210-18.
- *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1988).
- COOK, J. M., *The Persian Empire* (London, 1983).
- COOK, R. M., *Greek Painted Pottery*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1972).
- COOK, V., 'Cyprus and the Outside World during the Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age', *OpAth* 17 (1988), 13-32.
- COURBIN, P., 'Rapport sur la x<sup>ème</sup> et dernière campagne à Ras El Bassit', *AAS* 36-7 (1986-7), 107-20.
- CROSS, F. M., 'The Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia: The Fragmentary Stele from Nora', in Golomb, cited below, 65-74.
- 'A Recently Published Phoenician Inscription of the Persian Period from Byblos', *IEJ* 29 (1979), 40-4.
- CROUWEL, J. H., 'A Chariot from Salamis Newly Reconstructed', *RDAC* 1990, 101-5.
- 'Chariots in Iron Age Cyprus', *RDAC* 1987, 101-18.
- 'A Group of Terracotta Chariot Models-Cypriote or Phoenician', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 115-30.
- CROWFOOT, J. W., et al., *Samaria-Sebaste*, iii (London, 1957).
- CULICAN, W., *The First Merchant Venturers* (London, 1966).
- 'The Iconography of Some Phoenician Seals and Seal Impressions', *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, 1 (1968), 50-103.
- 'A Phoenician Seal from Khaldeh', *Levant*, 6 (1974), 195-200.
- 'Quelques aperçus sur les ateliers phéniciens', *Syria*, 45 (1968), 275-93.
- 'The Repertoire of Phoenician Pottery', in Niemeyer, cited below, 45-82.
- 'A Terracotta Shrine from Achzib', *ZDPV* 92 (1976), 47-53.
- CURTIS, J. (ed.), *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia* (London, 1988).
- DALLEY, S., 'Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Armies of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II', *Iraq*, 47 (1985), 31-48.
- 'The God Salmu and the Winged Disk', *Iraq*, 48 (1986), 85-101.
- 'Neo-Assyrian Textual Evidence for Bronzeworking Centres', in Curtis, cited above, 97-110.
- and POSTGATE, J. N., (eds.), *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser* (Oxford, 1984).

- DAVIS, W. M., 'Ancient Naukratis and the Cypriotes in Egypt', *GM* 35 (1979), 13-23.
- 'The Cypriotes at Naukratis', *GM* 41 (1980), 7-19.
- DE SALVIA, F., 'The Cypriotes in the Saïte Nile Delta: The Cypro-Egyptian Religious Syncretism', in Nibbi, *Archaeology . . . Pharaonic Times*, cited below, 81-118.
- DEMETRIOU, A., *Cypro-Aegean Relations in the Early Iron Age* (Göteborg, 1989).
- 'Datierung der Periode Cypro-Archaisch I', *AA* 1978, 12-25.
- DENNISTON, J. D., *The Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1954).
- DENTZER, J.-M., *Le Motif du banquet couché dans le proche-orient et le monde grec du vii<sup>e</sup> au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome, 1982).
- DES GAGNIERS, J., 'Excavations at Soloi', in Robertson (ed.), *Recent Developments*, cited below, 211-32.
- 'Une fête champêtre sur une amphore d'Amathonte', *RA* 1972, 53-6.
- and TINH, T. T., *Soloi: Dix campagnes des fouilles* (Sainte-Foy, 1985).
- DESCOEUDRES, J.-P. (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Canberra and Oxford, 1990).
- DESHAYES, J., *La Nécropole de Ktima* (Paris, 1963).
- DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS, A., 'Le Trésor de Larnaca (*IGCH* 1272) réexaminé', *RDAC* 1984, 140-61.
- DI CESNOLA, L. P., *Cyprus* (London, 1877).
- *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, iii (Boston, 1885).
- DIAS, L. F. and PINTO, I. V., 'Pottery from the Cella of the Temple', in Soren, cited below, 219-31.
- DIETZ, S., and PAPACHRISTODOULOU, I., *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* (Copenhagen, 1988).
- DIKAIOS, P., 'Built Tomb Near Pyla', *RDAC* 1934 (1935), 9-11.
- 'A Conspectus of Architecture in Ancient Cyprus', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 24 (1960), 3-30.
- *Enkomi* (Mainz, 1971).
- *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*<sup>3</sup> (Nicosia, 1961).
- 'Two "Naukratite" Chalices from Marion', *JHS* 66 (1946), 5-7.
- DIMITRIOU, A., 'A Cypriote 8th-7th Century Bird Workshop', *AD* 30.1 (1975) 21-34.
- DION, P.-E., 'Les *Ktym* de Tel Arad: Grecs ou phéniciens?', *RB* 99 (1992), 70-97.
- DOELL, J., *Die Sammlung Cesnola* (St Petersburg, 1873).
- DONDER, H., *Zaunzeug im Griechenland und Cypern* (Munich, 1980).
- DUNAND, M., 'Note sur quelques objets provenant de Saïda', *Syria*, 7 (1926), 123-7.
- 'Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Byblos en 1964', *BMB* 19 (1966), 95-101.
- 'Tombe peinte dans la campagne de Tyr', *BMB* 18 (1965), 5-51.

- DUNAND, M., and SALIBY, N., *Le Temple d'Amrith dans la perée d'Aradus* (Paris, 1985).
- DUPLAT TAYLOR, J., 'The Cypriot and Syrian Pottery from Al Mina, Syria', *Iraq*, 21 (1959), 62-92.
- 'Excavations at Ayios Philon, Part I', *RDAC* 1980, 152-216.
- DUPONT, P., 'Amphores commerciales archaïques de la Grèce de l'est', *PdP* 204-7 (1982), 193-209.
- 'Un approche en laboratoire des problèmes de la céramique de Grèce de l'est', in *Céramiques*, cited above, 290-7.
- DUPONT-SOMMER, A., 'Les Phéniciens à Chypre', *RDAC* 1974, 75-94.
- EDEL, E., 'Amasis und Nebukadrezzar II', *GM* 29 (1978), 13-20.
- EHRHARDT, N., 'Zur Geschichte der griechischen Handels- und Kolonisationsfahrten im Östlichen Mittelmeer im Spiegel von Epos und Periplus-Literatur', in *Orientalisch-Ägäische Einflüsse*, cited below, 16-19.
- EILERS, W., *Semiramis* (Vienna, 1971).
- ELAYI, J., 'Les Cités phéniciennes et l'empire assyrien à l'époque d'Assurbanipal', *RevAssyr* 77 (1983), 45-58.
- *Sidon, cité autonome de l'empire perse* (Paris, 1989).
- and CAVIGNEAUX, A., 'Sargon II et les ioniens', *Oriens Antiquus*, 18 (1979), 59-75.
- ENGEL, W. H., *Kypros: Eine Monographie*, i (Berlin, 1841).
- FALES, F. M. (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons* (Rome, 1981).
- FARKAS, A. E., et al. (eds.), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Mainz, 1987).
- FASNACHT, W., et al., 'Excavations at Ayia Varvara-Almyras', *RDAC* 1989, 59-76.
- 'Excavations at Ayia Varvara-Almyras: Second Preliminary Report', *RDAC* 1990, 127-39.
- 'Excavations at Ayia Varvara-Almyras: Third Preliminary Report', *RDAC* 1991, 97-108.
- FLOURENTZOS, P., 'Tomb Groups from the Necropolis in Ay. Omologites, Nicosia', *RDAC* 1986, 150-63.
- FORGEAU, A., 'Scarabées, scaraboides, et cônes', in Laffineur, cited below, 135-76.
- FORNARA, C., *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome*, i. *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (Baltimore and London, 1977).
- FORRER, E., 'Karthago wurde erst 673-663 v. Chr. gegründet', in Kusch, cited below, 85-93.
- *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920).
- FORREST, W. G., 'Two Chronographic Notes', *CQ* 19 (1969), 95-110.
- FORTIN, M., 'Fondation de villes grecques à Chypre: Légendes et découvertes archéologiques', in Caron et al., cited above, 25-44.
- FRANKFORT, H., *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1970).

- FRIEDRICH, J., *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1932).
- FRITZ, V., 'Die Paläste während der assyrischen, babylonischen, und persischen Vorherrschaft in Palästina', *MDOG* 111 (1979), 63-74.
- FURTWÄNGLER, A., *Aegina* (Munich, 1906).
- GABER-SALETAN, P., 'The Limestone Sculpture from Kition', *BMNE* 15 (1980), 41-9.
- 'The Limestone Sculpture from the Vouni Region', *BMNE* 16 (1981), 39-46.
- *Regional Styles in Cypriote Sculpture: The Sculpture from Idalion* (New York and London, 1986).
- GADD, C. J., 'Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud', *Iraq*, 16 (1954), 173-201.
- GAL, Z., 'Hurbat Rosh Zayit and the Early Phoenician Pottery', *Levant*, 24 (1992), 173-86.
- GALLING, K., 'Beschriftete Bildsiegel des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. vornehmlich aus Syrien und Palästina', *ZDPV* 64 (1941), 121-202.
- GAMMIE, J. G., 'Herodotus on Kings and Tyrants: Objective Historiography or Conventional Portraiture?', *JNES* 45 (1986), 171-95.
- GANZMANN, L., *et al.*, 'Das Eschmunheiligtum von Sidon', *IstMitt* 37 (1987), 81-130.
- GARFINKEL, Y., 'MLŠ HKRSYM in Phoenician Inscriptions from Cyprus, the QRSY in Arad, HKRSYM in Egypt, and BNY QYRS in the Bible', *JNES* 47 (1988), 27-34.
- GEVA, S., 'A Neo-Assyrian Cylinder Seal from Beth-Shan', *JANES* 12 (1980), 45-9.
- GIBSON, J. L. (ed.), *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, ii (Oxford, 1975).
- GILBOA, A., 'New Finds at Tel Dor and the Beginning of Cypro-Geometric Pottery Import to Palestine', *IEJ* 39 (1989), 204-18.
- GIVEN, M. J. M., 'Symbols, Power, and the Construction of Identity in the City-Kingdoms of Ancient Cyprus, c.750-312 BC', Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1991).
- GJERSTAD, E., 'The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend', *OpArch* 3 (1944), 107-23.
- 'The Phoenician Colonization and Expansion in Cyprus', *RDAC* 1979, 230-54.
- 'Pottery Types, Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Classical', *OpAth* 3 (1960), 105-22.
- GOEDICKE, H., *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore and London, 1975).
- GOLOMB, D. M. (ed.), 'Working with No Data': *Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1987).
- GORTON, A., 'A Typology of Egyptian and Egyptianising Scarabs from Punic and Other Sites around the Mediterranean', D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1980).
- GRAS, M., *et al.*, *L'Univers phénicien* (Paris, 1989).
- GRAYSON, A. K., *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (New York, 1975).

- GRAYSON, A. K., 'Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Literary Characteristics', in Fales, cited above, 35-47.
- GREENWOOD, P. J. and HOWES, G. J., 'Appendix 8: Fish Remains', in Karageorghis, *Salamis*, iii, cited below, 259-68.
- GSELL, S., *et al.*, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, i (Paris, 1921).
- GUBEL, E., *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen* (Brussels, 1986).
- 'Phoenician Seals in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam', *RSF* 16 (1988), 160-3.
- '"Syro-Cypriote" Cubical Stamps: The Phoenician Connection', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 195-224.
- HACHMANN, R. (ed.), *Frühe Phöniker im Libanon* (Mainz, 1983).
- HADIDI, A. (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, i (Amman, 1982).
- HADJIANNOU, K., *E Archaia Kupros eis tas Ellenikas Pegas* (Nicosia, 1971-83).
- 'On the Interpretation of the *ΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ* of Aeschylus', in *Praktika tou Deuterou . . . Sunedriou*, cited below, 509-13.
- HADJISAVVAS, S., 'Greek and Phoenician Influences on Cyprus as Evidenced in the Necropolis of Kition' in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited below, 361-8.
- 'Two Cypro-Achaic I Tombs at Alassa-Kampos', *RDAC* 1989, 95-108.
- HADJISTEPHANOU, C. E., '*ΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ* in Aeschylus' *Supplices* 282-3: A New Emendation and Contextual Interpretation', *Hermes* 118 (1990), 282-91.
- HADJISTYLLIS, S. A., '"*ΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ*" (A. Supp. 282): A Discussion of a New Interpretation', in *Praktika tou Deuterou . . . Sunedriou*, cited below, 515-20.
- HALL, E., *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1989).
- HARRISON, R. J., *Spain at the Dawn of History* (London, 1988).
- HARTOG, F., *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley, Calif., and Los Angeles, 1988).
- HELTZER, M., 'Kition According to the Biblical Prophets and Hebrew Ostraca from Arad', *RDAC* 1988/1, 167-72.
- HEMELRIJK, J. M., 'Some Ear Ornaments in Archaic Cypriot and East Greek Art', *BABesch* 38 (1963), 28-51.
- HERMARY, A., *Amathonte*, ii (Paris, 1981).
- 'Amathonte de Chypre et les phéniciens', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 375-88.
- *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre: Sculptures* (Paris, 1989).
- 'Le Culte d'Aphrodite à Amathonte', *RDAC* 1988/2, 101-9.
- 'Les Débuts de la grande plastique chypriote en terre cuite', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 139-47.
- 'Divinités chypriotes, II', *RDAC* 1986, 164-72.
- 'Les Fouilles d'Ohnefalsch-Richter à Idalion en 1894', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 10 (1988), 8-14.

- HERMARY, A., 'Un nouveau chapiteau hathorique trouvé à Amathonte', *BCH* 109 (1985), 657-99.
- 'Sculptures "chyprio-ioniennes" du Musée de l'Ermitage à Leningrad', *RDAC* 1991, 173-7.
- *et al.*, 'Rapport sur les travaux de l'école française à Amathonte de Chypre en 1987', *BCH* 112 (1988), 857-76.
- and MASSON, O., 'Deux vases inscrits du sanctuaire d'Aphrodite à Amathonte (1865-1987)', *BCH* 114 (1990), 187-214.
- HERRMANN, G., *Ivories from Room SW 37, Fort Shalmaneser* (London, 1986).
- 'Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of its Trade', *Iraq*, 30 (1968), 21-57.
- HERZ, N., and WAELKENS, M., (eds.), *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade* (London, 1988).
- HERZOG, Z., *et al.*, 'The Israelite Fortress at Arad', *BASOR*, no. 254 (Spring, 1984), 1-34.
- HEUBECK, A., *et al.*, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, i (Oxford, 1988).
- HIGGINS, R. A., *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967).
- HILL, G., *A History of Cyprus*, i (Cambridge, 1940).
- 'Amathus', *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 5 (1937), 485-91 = *Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, i (Brussels).
- *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus* (London, 1904).
- *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* (London, 1910).
- HILPRECHT, H., *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Edinburgh, 1903).
- HÖCHER, C., *Antike Gemmen* (Kassel, 1987/8).
- HOGARTH, D. G., 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88: I. The First Season's Work. Preliminary Narrative', *JHS* 9 (1888) 149-74.
- HÖBL, G., 'Die Aegyptiaca von Kition', *Orientalia*, 51 (1982), 259-64.
- 'Ägyptische Kunstelemente im phönikischen Kulturkreis des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.', *Orientalia*, 58 (1989), 318-25.
- HORBLOWER, S., *Mausolus* (Oxford, 1984).
- HOW, W. W. and WELLS, J., (eds.), *A Commentary on Herodotus*, i-ii (Oxford, 1912).
- HUNT, D. (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1990; 1st edn., 1982).
- IACOVOU, M., *The Pictorial Pottery of Eleventh Century BC Cyprus* (Göteborg, 1988).
- L'Institut, F. Courby, *Salamine de Chypre*, iv (Paris, 1973).
- The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York and Nashville, 1962-76).
- JACOPI, G., *Clara Rhodos*, 6-7 (Bergamo, 1933).
- JAKOB-ROST, L., *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum* (Berlin, 1975).
- JEFFERY, G., 'Notes on the Origin of the Doric Style of Architecture', *Archaeologia* 78 (1928), 37-60.
- 'Rock-Cutting and Tomb Architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman Occupation', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914-15), 159-78.
- JEFFERY, L. H., *Archaic Greece* (London and Tonbridge, 1976).

- JEFFERY, L. H., and JOHNSTON, A. W., *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. edn. (Oxford, 1990).
- JEHASSE, J., 'Le Rempart méridional de Salamine', in *Salamine de Chypre*, cited below, 147-52.
- JEHASSE, L., 'La Céramique attique à vernis noir de Kition de la fin du vi<sup>e</sup> à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J. C.', in Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition*, iv, cited below, 75-99.
- *Salamine de Chypre*, viii (Paris, 1978).
- JIDEJIAN, N., *Sidon through the Ages* (Beirut, 1971).
- *Tyre through the Ages* (Beirut, 1969).
- JOHNSTON, A. W., 'Imported Greek Storage Amphorae', in Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition*, iv, cited below, 37-44.
- and JONES, R. E., 'The "SOS" Amphora', *BSA* 73 (1978), 103-41.
- JOHNSTON, A. and WILSON, V., 'Cypriaka from Datça', *BICS* 25 (1978), 33-4.
- JONES, R. E., *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies* (Athens, 1986).
- KARAGEORGHIS, J., 'La Vie quotidienne à Chypre d'après les terres cuites d'époque géométrique et archaïque', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 149-69.
- and MASSON, O. (eds.), *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1988).
- KARAGEORGHIS, V., 'A propos de Kitiens portant la tiare', *Semitica*, 39 (1990), 1-6 (= *Homages Maurice Sznycer*, ii).
- *Alt-Paphos*, iii (Constance, 1983).
- *The Archaeology of Cyprus: The Ninety Years after Myres* (London, 1987).
- 'Black Slip Grooved Ware from Cyprus', *RDAC* 1982, 119-22.
- *Blacks in Ancient Cypriote Art* (Houston, Tex., 1988).
- 'Chars sur des vases chypriotes', *BCH* 90 (1966), 101-18.
- 'The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus: An Introduction', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 9-16.
- *Cypriote Antiquities in the Pierides Museum* (Nicosia, n.d.).
- 'A Cypro-Archaic I Tomb at Palaepaphos-Skales', *RDAC* 1987, 85-96.
- *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans* (London, 1982).
- 'Excavations in the Necropolis of Idalion, 1963', *RDAC* 1964, 28-84.
- *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, i-iv (Nicosia and London, 1967-78).
- 'A "Favissa" at Kazaphani', *RDAC* 1978, 156-93.
- *Kition* (London, 1976).
- 'Kypriaka VI', *RDAC* 1981, 147-53.
- 'Kypriaka VII', *RDAC* 1984, 207-13.
- 'Kypriaka IX', *RDAC* 1986, 45-54.
- 'Kypriaka XII', *RDAC* 1990, 107-10.
- 'A New "Geryon" Terracotta Statuette from Cyprus', *EI* 20 (1989), 92-7.
- 'Notes on Some Terracotta Masks from Amathus Now in the British Museum', *RSF* 18 (1990), 3-15.

- KARAGEORGHIS, V., 'Nouvelles tombes de guerriers à Palaepaphos', *BCH* 91 (1967), 202-47.
- 'The Princeton Amphoriskos of the Amathus Style', *RDAC* 1990, 121-5.
- *Salamis* (London, 1969).
- 'Some Eleventh-Century BC Clay Masks from Kition', in Betts, cited above, 65-7.
- 'Some Remarks on the "Amathus Style" in Cypriote Vase Painting', in Cain, cited above, 83-6.
- 'A Stone Statuette of a Sphinx and a Note on Small Limestone Thymiateria from Cyprus', *RDAC* 1988/2, 89-93.
- 'The Terracottas', in Karageorghis *et al.* (eds.), *Nécropole*, iii, cited below, 1-52.
- 'Three Iron-Age Wall Brackets from Cyprus', *RSF* 3 (1975), 161-7.
- 'Une tombe de guerrier à Palaepaphos', *BCH* 87 (1963), 265-300.
- *Two Cypriote Sanctuaries of the End of the Cypro-Archaic Period* (Rome, 1977).
- 'Two Pictorially Decorated Vases of the Cypro-Archaic Period', in *Studies . . . Dikaios*, cited below, 123-8.
- (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus, 1960-1985* (Nicosia, 1985).
- (ed.), *The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean* (Larnaca, 1991).
- (ed.), *Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia, 1986).
- *et al.*, *Excavations at Kition*, iv (Nicosia, 1981).
- *et al.* (eds.), *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, tombes 113-367*, ii. *Céramiques non chypriotes* (Nicosia, 1987).
- *et al.* (eds.), *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, tombes 113-367*, iii (Nicosia, 1987).
- *et al.* (eds.), *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, tombes 110-385*, v (Nicosia, 1991).
- and IACOVOU, M., 'Amathus Tomb 521: A Cypro-Geometric I Group', *RDAC* 1990, 75-98.
- and LOSCHIAVO, F., 'A West Mediterranean Obelos from Amathus', *RSF* 17 (1989), 15-29.
- and VERMEULE, E., *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).
- KATZENSTEIN, H. J., *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem, 1973).
- KATZEV, M. L., 'The Kyrenia Ship', in Bass, cited above, 50-2.
- KAULEN, G., *Daidalika* (Munich, 1967).
- KEEL, O., 'Die Jaspis-Skarabäen-Gruppe. Eine vorderasiatische Skarabäen Werkstatt des 17. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', in Keel *et al.*, cited below, 209-42.
- *et al.* (eds.), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989).
- KELLY-BUCELLATI, M. (ed.), *Insight through Images* (Malibu, Calif., 1986).
- KENNA, V. E. G., *Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum* (Göteborg, 1971).
- KINCH, K. F., *Vroulia* (Berlin, 1914).

- KIRCHHOFF, W., *Die Entwicklung des ionischen Volutenkapitells* (Bonn, 1988).
- KOEHL, R. B., *Sarepta*, iii (Beirut, 1985).
- KÖNIG, I., 'Die Xenia zwischen Polykrates und Amasis', *PdP* 44 (1989), 321-40.
- KOUCKY, F. L. and STEINBERG, A., 'Ancient Mining and Mineral Dressing on Cyprus', in Stager and Walker, cited below, 275-327.
- KOZLOFF, A. P. (ed.), *Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection* (Cleveland, 1981).
- KRAAY, C. M. (ed.), *Archaic and Classical Greek Coinage* (London, 1976).
- KUHRT, A. and SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, H., (eds.), *Achaemenid History*, iii. *Method and Theory* (Leiden, 1988).
- KUSCH, H., (ed.), *Festschrift Franz Dornseiff* (Leipzig, 1953).
- KYRIELEIS, H., *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos* (Athens, 1981).
- 'New Cypriot Finds from the Heraion of Samos', in Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Iron Age*, cited below, 52-67.
- 'The Relations between Samos and the Eastern Mediterranean: Some Aspects', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Civilizations*, cited above, 129-32.
- LACROIX, L., *Études d'archéologie numismatique* (Paris, 1974).
- LAFFINEUR, R., *Amathonte*, iii. *Testimonia 3, l'orfèvrerie* (Paris, 1986).
- LAGARCE, E., 'Remarques sur l'utilisation des scarabées, scaraboides, amulettes, et figurines de type égyptien à Chypre', in Clerc *et al.*, cited above, 167-82.
- LAMBERT, W., 'Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia', in Farkas, cited above, 37-52.
- LANE, W. R., 'The Phoenician Dialect of Larnax tes Lapethou', *BASOR*, no. 194 (April 1969), 39-45.
- LANG, R. H., *Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalium) in Cyprus* (London, n.d. = repr. of *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 11 (1878), 30-71).
- LAUMONIER, A., *Délos*, xxiii (Paris, 1956).
- LAWRENCE, A. W., 'The Primitive Sculpture of Cyprus', *JHS* 46 (1926), 163-70.
- LEAHY, A., 'The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries', *JEA* 74 (1988), 183-99.
- LEICHTY, E., *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vi (London, 1986).
- LEMAIRE, A., *Inscriptions hébraïques* (Paris, 1977).
- LEMONS, I. S. and HATCHER, H., 'Early Greek Vases in Cyprus: Euboean and Attic', *OJA* 10 (1991), 197-208.
- LEWE, B., *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (Dortmund, 1975).
- LEWIS, D. M., *Spanta and Persia* (Leiden, 1977).
- LIE, A. G., *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, Part i. *The Annals* (Paris, 1929).
- LIPINSKI, E., 'Le ba'ana' d'Idalion', *Syria*, 63 (1986), 379-82.
- 'Notes d'épigraphie phénicienne et punique', *OLP* 14 (1983), 129-65.



- LIPINSKI, E., 'Phoenicians in Anatolia and Assyria, Ninth-Sixth Centuries BC', *OLP* 16 (1985), 81-90.
- LIPSCHITZ, O., 'The Date of the "Assyrian Residence" at Aytelet ha-Shaḥar', *TA* 17 (1990), 96-9.
- LLOYD, A. B., 'Herodotus' Account of Pharaonic History', *Historia*, 37 (1988), 22-53.
- *Herodotus, Book II: Commentary 1-98* (Leiden, 1976).
- *Herodotus, Book II: Commentary 99-182* (Leiden, 1988).
- 'The Late Period, 664-323 BC', in Trigger *et al.*, cited below, 279-348.
- LOULLOUPIS, M. C., 'Evidence of Egyptian Cult in Cyprus', in *Acts . . . Cairo*, 1976, cited above, 431-9.
- 'Hunting Scenes on Cypriot Vases of the Geometric Period', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited below, 171-9.
- LUCKENBILL, D. D., *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924).
- LYON, D. G., *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (Leipzig, 1883).
- Ma'agan Michael Shipwreck, *The* (Haifa, n.d.).
- MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK, M., *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague* (The Hague, 1978).
- MACAN, R. W. (ed.), *Herodotus: The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books*, i (London, 1895).
- MCGINNIS, J., 'A Neo-Assyrian Text Describing a Royal Funeral', *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*, 1 (1987), 1-11.
- MAFFRE, J.-J., 'Vases grecs de la collection Zenon Piéridès à Larnaca (Chypre)', *BCH* 95 (1971), 627-702.
- MAIER, F. G., *Cyprus from Earliest Times to Present Day* (London, 1968).
- 'Factoids in Ancient History: The Case of Fifth-Century Cyprus', *JHS* 105 (1985), 32-9.
- 'Palaces of Cypriot Kings', in Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Iron Age*, cited below, 16-27.
- 'Priest Kings in Cyprus', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited below, 376-91.
- and KARAGEORGHIS, V., *Paphos* (Nicosia, 1984).
- and WARTBURG, M.-L., 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos)', *RDAC* 1985, 100-21.
- MAIURI, A., 'Jalisos e l'Agro Jalisio', *Clara Rhodos*, 1 (1928), 56-82.
- MALLOWAN, M., and HERRMANN, G., *Furniture from SW 7, Fort Shalmaneser* (London, 1974).
- MARKOE, G., 'A Bearded Head with Conical Cap from Lefkoniko: An Examination of a Cypro-Archaic Votary', *RDAC* 1987, 119-25.
- 'Egyptianizing Male Votive Statuary from Cyprus: A Reexamination', *Levant*, 22 (1990), 111-22.
- *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, Calif., and Los Angeles, 1985).

- MARTELLI, M., 'La stipe votiva dell'Athenaion di Jalysos: Un primo bilancio', in Dietz and Papachristodoulou, cited above, 104-20.
- MARTIN, J. (ed.), *Scholia in Aratum Vetera* (Stuttgart, 1974).
- MASSON, O., 'Cesnola et le trésor de Curium', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 1 (1984), 16-25; 2 (1984), 3-15.
- 'Chypriotes et phéniciens à Golgoi de Chypre', *Semitica*, 39 (1990), 43-6 (= *Hommages à Maurice Sznycer*, ii).
- 'Une inscription éteochypriote probablement d'origine d'Amathonte', *Kadmos*, 27 (1988), 126-30.
- 'Kypriaka IX', *BCH* 95 (1971), 305-34.
- 'Kypriaka XV-XVII', *BCH* 108 (1984), 71-89.
- 'La Liste des villes de Chypre chez Plinie L'Ancien (V, 130)', *RDAC* 1986, 183-6.
- 'Variétés chypriotes syllabiques', *Kadmos*, 29 (1990), 144-56.
- 'Un vieux problème: Alasia = Chypre?', *REG* 103 (1990), 231-5.
- and HERMARY, A., 'Le Chapiteau hathorique de Paphos (Bapho, 1865)', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 5 (1986), 3-8.
- 'Les Fouilles d'Ohnefalsch-Richter à Idalion en 1894', *Centre d'études chypriotes, cahiers*, 10 (1988), 8-14.
- 'Inscriptions d'Amathonte, IV', *BCH* 106 (1982), 235-44.
- and MITFORD, T. B., *Les Inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos* (Constance, 1986).
- and SZNYCER, M., *Recherches sur les phéniciens à Chypre* (Geneva and Paris, 1972).
- MATTHÄUS, H., *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern* (Munich, 1985).
- MAUSS, M., *The Gift* (London, 1969).
- MAXMIN, J., 'Bêtes Noires from Amathus', *RDAC* 1982, 183-6.
- MAXWELL MILLER, J., 'Solomon: International Potentate or Local King?', *PEQ* 123 (1991), 28-31.
- MAZAR, A., 'Comments on the Nature of the Relations between Cyprus and Palestine During the Twelfth to the Eleventh Centuries BC', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Civilizations of the Aegean*, cited above, 95-104.
- 'Iron Age Fortresses in Judaeon Hills', *PEQ* 114 (1982), 87-109.
- MAZZARINO, S., *Fra Oriente e Occidente* (Florence, 1947).
- MEIGGS, R., *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972).
- *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982).
- and LEWIS, D., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1988).
- MERRILLEES, R. S., *Alashia Revisited* (Paris, 1987).
- MICHAELIDES, D., *et al.*, 'Marble in Cyprus: Classical Times to Middle Ages', in Herz and Waelkens, cited above, 159.
- MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU, I., *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus* (Göteborg, 1976).

- MILLARD, A. R., 'Texts and Archaeology: Weighing the Evidence: The Case for Solomon', *PEQ* 123 (1991), 19-27.
- MITCHELL, B. M., 'Cyrene and Persia', *JHS* 86 (1966), 99-113.
- 'Herodotus and Samos', *JHS* 95 (1975), 75-91.
- MITCHELL, S., 'Archaeology in Asia Minor 1985-89', *AR* 1990, 83-131.
- MITFORD, T. B., *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971).
- *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin* (Berlin and New York, 1980).
- *Studies in the Signaries of South-Western Cyprus* (London, 1961).
- and MASSON, O., *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos* (Constance, 1983).
- MONLOUP, T., *Salamine de Chypre*, xii (Paris, 1984).
- MOOREY, P. R. S., 'Iranian Troops at Deve Hüyük in Syria in the Earlier Fifth Century BC', *Levant*, 7 (1975), 108-17.
- *Materials and Manufacture in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1985).
- 'Some Syro-Phoenician Bronze Caryatid Stands', *Levant*, 5 (1973), 83-90.
- and FLEMING, S., 'Problems in the Study of Anthropomorphic Metal Statuary from Syro-Palestine before 330 BC', *Levant*, 16 (1984), 67-90.
- and PARR, P. (eds.), *Archaeology in the Levant* (Warminster, 1978).
- MORRIS, D., *The Art of Ancient Cyprus* (Oxford, 1985).
- MORRIS, R. S., 'The Palm Leaf Workshop', *RDAC* 1987, 127-39.
- and SYMONS, D. J., 'Four Figured Style Vases from Cyprus in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery', *RDAC* 1985, 185-91.
- MORRIS, S. P., *The Black-and-White Style* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1984).
- MOSCATI, S., *The World of the Phoenicians* (London, 1968).
- (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (Milan, 1988).
- MOVERS, F. C., *Die Phönizier* (Berlin, 1849).
- MUHLY, J. D., 'The Role of Cyprus in the Economy of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Second Millennium BC', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited above, 45-68.
- MÜLLER, V., *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* (Augsburg, 1929).
- MURRAY, A. S. et al., *Excavations in Cyprus* (London, 1900).
- MURRAY, O., 'Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship', *JEA* 56 (1970), 144-50.
- MUSO, C. M., 'Preservation Works Carried Out on Royal Tomb V', in Buchholz, 'Tamassos . . . 1973', cited above, 589-98.
- MYLONAS, G., and RAYMOND, P. (eds.), *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* (St Louis, 1953).
- MYRES, J. L., 'The Amathus Bowl', *JHS* 53 (1933), 25-39.
- 'Aphrodite Anadyomene', *BSA* 41 (1946), 99.
- 'The Black Stone on the Site of the Paphian Temple at Kouklia', *BSA* 41 (1946), 97-8.
- 'The Dates and Origins of Cypriote Sculpture', *BSA* 41 (1946), 100-4.
- 'Excavations in Cyprus in 1894', *JHS* 17 (1897), 134-73.

- MYRES, J. L., 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1913', *BSA* 41 (1946), 53-96.
- *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914).
- 'Notes on the "Prison of Saint Catherine" at Salamis in Cyprus', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914-15), 179-94.
- 'A Painted Graeco-Phoenician Vase from Ormidhia in Cyprus', *AJA* 58 (1954), 39-44.
- 'Sarcophagi from Cyprus', *Antike Denkmäler*, 3.1 (1912), 1-4.
- and OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER, M., *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899).
- NA'AMAN, N., 'Israel, Edom, and Egypt in the Tenth Century BCE', *TA* 19 (1992), 71-91.
- NAVEH, J., 'Writing and Scripts in Seventh-Century BCE Philistia', *IEJ* 35 (1985), 8-21.
- NIBBI, A. (ed.), *The Archaeology, Geography, and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times* (Oxford, 1989).
- NICHOLLS, R., and BUCHHOLZ, H.-G., 'The Provenance of the Cambridge Skyphos by the KX Painter', *JHS* 98 (1978), 162-4.
- NICOLAOU, I., *Cypriot Inscribed Stones* (Nicosia, 1971).
- NICOLAOU, K., *Ancient Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1968).
- *The Historical Topography of Kition* (Göteborg, 1976).
- 'Zeus Keraunios of Kition', *OpAth* 5 (1964), 37-45.
- NIEMEYER, H. G. (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz, 1982).
- NUNN, A., *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im Alten Orient* (Leiden, 1988).
- NYLANDER, C., *Ionians in Pasargadae* (Uppsala, 1970).
- OBERHUMMER, E., *Die Insel Cypern*, i (Munich, 1903).
- ODED, B., *Mass Deportation and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979).
- 'Phoenician Cities and the Assyrian Empire in the Time of Tiglath-Pileser III', *ZDPV* 90 (1974), 38-49.
- OGDEN, J., *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (London, 1982).
- OPPENHEIM, A. L., 'Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium BC', *JCS* 21 (1967), 236-54.
- OREN, E., 'Ziglag — A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev', *Biblical Archaeologist*, 45 (1982), 155-66.
- *Orientalisch-Ägäische Einflüsse in der Europäischen Bronzezeit* (Bonn, 1990).
- ORPHANIDES, A. G., *Bronze Age Anthropomorphic Figurines in the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Göteborg, 1983).
- OSBORNE, R., 'A Crisis in Archaeological History? The Seventh Century BC in Attica', *BSA* 84 (1989), 297-322.
- PARAYRE, D., 'Deux chapiteaux hathoriques à Amathonte: Étude des disques solaires ailés', *BCH* 114 (1990), 215-40.
- PARPOLA, S., *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970).

- PARROT, A., 'Acquisitions et inédits du Musée du Louvre', *Syria* 35 (1958), 163–86.
- PECKHAM, J. B., *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).
- PELTENBURG, E. J., 'The Beginnings of Religion in Cyprus', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited below, 108–26.
- *Lemba Archaeological Project* ii.2 (Göteborg, 1991).
- 'Lemba Archaeological Project, Cyprus, 1987', *Levant*, 21 (1989), 195–7.
- 'Ramesside Egypt and Cyprus', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited above, 149–79.
- (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989).
- *et al.*, 'Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1987: Ritual Deposit, Unit 1015', *RDAC* 1988/1, 43–52.
- PERNIGOTTI, S., 'Phoenicians and Egyptians', in Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians*, cited above, 522–31.
- PERREAULT, J., 'Les Importations attiques au Proche-orient du vi<sup>e</sup> au milieu du v<sup>e</sup> s.', *BCH* 110 (1986), 145–75.
- PERROT, G., and CHIPIEZ, C., *Histoire de l'art dans antiquité*, iii. *Phénicie-Chypre* (Paris, 1985).
- PETIT, C., *et al.*, 'Première Campagne d'exploration du royaume', *BCH* 113 (1989), 889–99.
- PETIT, T., 'Amathonte de Chypre: Bilan de deux campagnes de fouilles (1988 et 1989) au "palais" d'époque archaïque et classique', *Transeuphratène* 4 (1991), 9–20.
- 'Presence et influence perses à Chypre', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History*, vi, cited below, 161–78.
- PETRIE, W. M. F. and GARDINER, E. A., *Naukratis*, i (London, 1886–8).
- PFEIFFER, R. H., 'The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah', in *The Interpreter's Dictionary*, ii, cited above, 215–20.
- PIERIDOU, A., 'Kupriaka Anthropomorphia Aggeia', *RDAC* 1968, 20–7.
- POPHAM, M. R. and SACKETT, L. H. (eds.), *Lefkandi*, i (London, 1979/80).
- *et al.*, 'Euboean Exports to Al Mina, Cyprus, and Crete: A Reassessment', *BSA* 78 (1983), 281–90.
- PORADA, E. (ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, NJ, 1980).
- POSTGATE, J. N., *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome, 1974).
- POUILLOUX, J., *et al.*, *Salamine de Chypre*, xiii (Paris, 1987).
- POWELL, B. B., *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Praktika tou Deuterou Diethnous Kyprologikou Sunedriou* (Nicosia, 1985).
- PRITCHARD, J. B., *Sarepta* (Philadelphia, 1975).
- *Recovering Sarepta* (Princeton, NJ, 1978).
- PRYCE, F. N., *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*, i.2. (London, 1931).
- RABAN, A. (ed.), *Archaeology of Coastal Changes* (Oxford, 1988).
- RAWLINSON, G., *History of Phoenicia* (London, 1889).

- RAY, J. D., 'The Names Psammetichus and Takheta', *JEA* 76 (1990), 196–9.
- READ, D. W., 'Intuitive Typology and Automatic Classification: Divergence or Full Circle?', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 8 (1989), 158–88.
- READE, J. E., 'Rassam's Babylonian Collection: The Excavations and the Archives', in Leichty, cited above, pp. xiii–xxxvi.
- REESE, D. S., 'The Trade of Indo-Pacific Shells into the Mediterranean Basin and Europe', *OJA* 10 (1991), 159–96.
- REICH, R., 'The Identification of the "Sealed Karû of Egypt"', *IEJ* 34 (1984), 32–8.
- 'The Persian Building at Ayyelet ha-Shahar: The Assyrian Palace of Hazor?', *IEJ* 25 (1975), 233–7.
- and BRANDL, B., 'Gezer under Assyrian Rule', *PEQ* 117 (1985), 41–54.
- REISNER, G. A. *et al.*, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910*, i–ii (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).
- Relations between Cyprus and Crete, c.2000–500 BC*, *The* (Nicosia, 1979).
- RENAN, E., *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris, 1864).
- REYES, A. T., 'The Anthropomorphic Bronze Statuettes of Archaic Idalion, Cyprus', *BSA* 87 (1992), 243–57.
- 'A Group of Cypro-Geometric Stamp Seals', *Levant*, 25 (1993), 194–205.
- 'Stamp Seals in the Pierides Collection, Larnaca', *RDAC* 1991, 117–28.
- RICHTER, G. M. A., *Kouros*<sup>3</sup> (London and New York, 1970).
- RIDGEWAY, D., 'The First Western Greeks and their Neighbours', in Descœudres, cited above, 61–72.
- RIS, P. J., 'Griechen in Phönizien', in Niemeyer, cited above, 237–60.
- *Sukas*, i (Copenhagen, 1970).
- 'The Syrian Astarte Plaques and their Western Connection', *Berytus*, 9 (1948–9), 69–90.
- *et al.*, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures*, i (Copenhagen, 1989).
- ROAF, M., *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1990).
- ROBERTSON, I., *Blue Guide: Cyprus*<sup>2</sup> (London and New York, 1987).
- ROBERTSON, M., 'The Attic Black-Figure and Red-Figure Pottery', in Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition*, iv, cited above, 51–74.
- 'The Pottery', in Karageorghis *et al.* (eds.), *Nécropole*, ii, cited above, 32–43.
- ROBERTSON, N. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments* (Park Ridge, NJ, 1975).
- ROCCHETTI, L., *Le tombe dei periodi geometrico ed arcaico della necropoli a mare di Ayia Irini 'Paleokastro'* (Rome, 1978).
- ROBINSON, D. M., and HARCUM, C. G., *Greek Vases at Toronto* (Toronto, 1930).
- ROEDER, G., *Aegyptische Bronzwerke* (Glückstadt, Hamburg, and New York, 1937).
- ROLLEY, C., 'Les Deux Têtes chypriotes du Musée d'Auxerre', *RLouvre*, 11 (1961), 259–64.
- *Greek Bronzes* (Freiburg, 1986).

- ROLLEY, C., and MASSON, O., 'Un bronze de Delphes à inscription chypriote syllabique', *BCH* 95 (1971), 295-304.
- RUPP, D. W., 'Prolegomena to a Study of Stratification and Social Organization in Cyprus', in Thompson *et al.*, cited below, 119-31.
- 'Puttin' on the Ritz: Manifestations of High Status in Iron Age Cyprus', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited above, 336-62.
- 'The "Royal Tombs" at Salamis (Cyprus): Ideological Messages of Power and Authority', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 1 (June 1988), 111-39.
- 'Vive le Roi: The Emergence of the State in Iron Age Cyprus', in Rupp (ed.), *Western Cyprus*, cited below, 147-68.
- RUPP, D. W. (ed.), *Western Cyprus: Connections* (Göteborg, 1987).
- SAGGS, H. W. F., 'The Nimrud Letters, 1952 — Part VI', *Iraq*, 25 (1963), 70-80.
- *The Might that was Assyria* (London, 1984).
- SAKELLARIOU, M., 'Achéens et arcadiens', in Karageorghis and Masson, cited above, 9-17.
- Salamine de Chypre: Histoire et archéologie* (Paris, 1978).
- SALMON, J. B., *Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford, 1984).
- SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, H. and KUERT, A. (eds.), *Achaemenid History*, iv. *Centre and Periphery* (Leiden, 1990).
- *Achaemenid History*, vi. *Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden, 1991).
- SAPORETTI, C., 'Cipro nei testi neoassiri', in *Studi Ciprioti*, cited below, 83-8.
- SAYCE, A. H., *Reminiscences* (London, 1923).
- SCHÄFER, J., 'Ein "Perserbau" in Altpaphos?', *OpAth* 3 (1960), 155-75.
- SCHÉURLEER, R. L., 'Five Terracottas from Cyprus', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 69-75.
- SCHMIDT, G., *Samos*, vii (Bonn, 1968).
- SCRANTON, R., *The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1967).
- SEIBERT, J., 'Zur Bevölkerungsstruktur Zyperns', *AncSoc* 7 (1976), 1-28.
- SHARON, I., 'Phoenician and Greek Ashlar Construction Techniques at Tel Dor, Israel', *BASOR*, no. 267 (August 1987), 21-42.
- SHAW, J. W., 'Phoenicians in Southern Crete', *AJA* 93 (1989), 165-83.
- SHEFTON, B. B., 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula: The Archaeological Evidence', in Niemeyer, cited above, 337-70.
- SHILOH, Y., *Qedem*, xi. *The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry* (Jerusalem, 1979).
- SHIPLEY, G., *A History of Samos 800-188 BC* (Oxford, 1987).
- SINOS, S., *The Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion and the Restoration of its South-West Corner* (Athens, 1990).
- SKLENAR, K., *Archaeology in Central Europe: The First 500 Years* (Leicester and New York, 1983).
- SMITH, A. D., *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford, 1986).

- SMITH, A. H., and PRYCE, F. N., *CVA Great Britain*, ii. London, British Museum, ii (London, 1926).
- SMITH, P., *et al.*, 'Human Remains from the Iron Age Cemeteries at Akhziv, Part 1: The Built Tomb from the Southern Cemetery', *RSF* 18 (1990), 137-50.
- SNODGRASS, A., *Cyprus and Early Greek History* (Nicosia, 1988).
- SOMMERSTEIN, A. H., 'Notes on Aeschylus' *Suppliants*', *BICS* 24 (1977), 67-82.
- SOPHOCLEOUS, S., *Atlas des représentations chypro-archaïques des divinités* (Göteborg, 1985).
- SOREN, D. (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates in Kourion, Cyprus* (Tucson, Ariz., 1987).
- SØRENSEN, L. W., 'Cypriote Terracottas from Lindos in the Light of New Discoveries', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 225-40.
- 'Early Archaic Limestone Statuettes in Cypriot Style', *RDAC* 1978, 111-21.
- 'Greek Pottery from the Geometric to the Archaic Period Found in Cyprus', *Acta Hyperborea*, 1 (1988), 12-32.
- SOUTH, A. K., 'An Egyptian Stone Mortar with Inscription of Amasis from Larnaca', *RDAC* 1987, 77-8.
- SPEISER, E. A., 'In Search of Nimrod', *EI* 5 (1958), 32-6.
- STAGER, L. E., *et al.*, *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974).
- and WALKER, A. M., *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus, 1973-1980* (Chicago, 1989).
- STARR, I., *Queries to the Sungod: State Archives of Assyria*, iv (Helsinki, 1990).
- STERN, E., 'A Group of Cypriot Limestone Sculptures from the Gaza Region', *Levant*, 7 (1975), 104-7.
- *The Material Culture of the Bible in the Persian Period* (Warminster, 1985).
- 'New Types of Phoenician Style Decorated Pottery Vases from Palestine', *PEQ* 110 (1978), 11-21.
- STOLPER, M., 'Babylonian Evidence for the End of the Reign of Darius I: A Correction', *JNES* 51 (1992), 61-2.
- 'The Governor of Babylon and Across-the-River in 486 BC', *JNES* 48 (1989), 283-305.
- STROMMINGER, E., *Die neuassyrische Rundskulptur* (Berlin, 1970).
- STRONACH, D., *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978).
- STUCCHI, S., 'The Coming of the Greeks to Cyrenaica', *MeditArch* 2 (1989), 73-84.
- Studi Ciprioti e Rapporti di Scavo*, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1976).
- Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Berne, 1970).
- Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios* (Nicosia, 1979).
- STUDNICZKA, F., 'Ein frühgriechischer Bronzekopf in Karlsruhe', in *Antike Plastik*, cited above, 245-54.

- STYLIANOU, P. J., *The Age of the Kingdoms: A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Nicosia, 1989).
- SUTTON, R. F. (ed.), *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, SJ* (Wauconda, Ill., 1989).
- SZNYCER, M., 'Salamine et les phéniciens', in *Salamine de Chypre*, cited above, 123-9.
- TADMOR, H., 'The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur', *JCS* 12 (1958), 77-100.
- TADMOR, H., and TADMOR, M., 'The Seal of Bêlu-Ašarêdu, Majordomo', *Yediot*, 31 (1967), 68-79.
- TATTON-BROWN, V., *Ancient Cyprus* (London, 1987).
- 'The Archaic Period', in Hunt, cited above, 65-83.
- 'Gravestones of the Archaic and Classical Periods: Local Production and Foreign Influences', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited above, 439-53.
- 'Sculptors at Golgoi', *RDAC* 1984, 169-73.
- 'A Terracotta "Geryon" in the British Museum', *RDAC* 1979, 281-8.
- (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London, 1989).
- (ed.), *Cyprus BC* (London, 1979).
- TEISSIER, B., *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984).
- TEIXIDOR, J., 'Early Phoenician Presence in Cyprus: Analysis of Epigraphical Material', in Robertson (ed.), *Recent Developments*, cited above, 121-28.
- THIRGOOD, J. V., *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests, Lands, and People* (Vancouver, 1987).
- THOMPSON, M., et al. (eds.), *Status, Structure, and Stratification: Current Anthropological Reconstructions* (Calgary, 1985).
- TÖRNKVIST, S., 'Arms, Armour, and Dress of the Terracotta Sculpture from Ajia Irini, Cyprus', *BMNE* 6 (1972), 7-55.
- TOZZI, P., *La rivolta ionica* (Pisa, 1978).
- TRIGGER, B. G., *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, 1990).
- et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983).
- TUPLIN, C., 'The Administration of the Persian Empire', in Carradice, cited above, 109-60.
- 'Xenophon and the Garrisons of the Achaemenid Empire', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 20 (1987), 167-245.
- TUSHINGHAM, A. D., 'A "Neo-Babylonian" Seal from Tell Taanach', *BASOR*, no. 286 (May 1992), 15-18.
- USSISHKIN, D., 'The Date of the Judaean Shrine at Arad', *IEJ* 38 (1988), 142-57.
- 'Hollows, "Cup-Marks", and Hittite Stone Monuments', *AS* 25 (1975), 85-103.
- 'A Neo-Hittite Base from Cyprus', *Archaeology*, 25 (1972), 304-5.
- 'Observations on the Architecture of the "Royal" Tombs in Salamis', *PEQ* 103 (1971), 93-102.
- VAN BEEK, G. W., 'Tel Gamma', *IEJ* 22 (1972), 245-6.

- VAN DER TOORN, K., and VON DER HORST, P. W., 'Nimrod Before and After the Bible', *HTHR* 83 (1990), 1-29.
- VANDENABEELE, F., 'Amathonte: Le Chantier sous la porte de l'acropole', *BCH* 112 (1988), 519-30.
- 'La Chronologie absolue du chypro-géométrique', *Dédalo*, 14 (1971), 7-22.
- 'La Civilisation d'Amathonte', *BCH* 92 (1968), 103-14.
- 'Un dépôt de céramique archaïque chypriote dans un silo à Amathonte', *BCH* 109 (1985), 629-55.
- 'Has Phoenician Influence Modified Cypriot Terracotta Production?', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited above, 266-71.
- 'L'Influence phénicienne sur la coroplastie chypriote', *Studia Phoenicia*, 3 (1985), 203-11.
- 'Phoenician Influence on the Cypro-Achaic Terracotta Production and Cypriot Influence Abroad', in Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Occident*, cited above, 351-60.
- 'Quelques particularités de la civilisation d'Amathonte à l'époque du chypro-géométrique', *BCH* 92 (1968), 103-14.
- 'The Terracottas of the Cypro-Geometric Period', in Vandenabeele and Laffineur, cited below, 57-68.
- 'Les Terres cuites chypriotes à lampe', in *Praktika tou Deuterou . . . Sunedriou*, cited above, 301-6.
- and LAFFINEUR, R. (eds.), *Cypriot Terracottas* (Brussels and Liège, 1991).
- VERMEULE, C. C., 'Cypriot Sculpture, the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods: Towards a More Precise Understanding', *AJA* 78 (1974), 287-90.
- VILLARD, F., 'Le Peintre des centaurs', in Mylonas and Raymond, cited above, 65-9.
- VON MERCKLIN, E., *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin, 1962).
- VON VOIGTLANDER, E. N., *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version* (London, 1978).
- VOYATZIS, M., 'Arcadia and Cyprus: Aspects of their Interrelationship between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC', *RDAC* 1985, 155-63.
- WAGNER, P., *Der ägyptische Einfluss auf die phönizische Architektur* (Bonn, 1980).
- WALTER-KARYDI, E., 'Äolische Kunst', in *Studien . . . Vasenmalerei*, cited above, 3-18.
- WALTERS, H. B., *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum*, rev. edn. (London, 1926).
- *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, i(2) (London, 1912).
- *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903).
- WARD, W. H., 'On an Inscribed Babylonian Weight', *JAOS* 13 (1889), pp. lvi-lvii.
- WARDEN, P. G., 'The Small Finds', in White, cited below, 1-86.

- WATKIN, H. J., 'The Cypriote Surrender to Persia', *JHS* 107 (1987), 154-63.
- WEBB, V., *Archaic Greek Faience* (Warminster, 1978).
- WEILL, N., 'Une tête de kouros archaïque à Salamine de Chypre', in L'Institut F. Courby, cited above, 57-79.
- WEIPPERT, M., 'Kanaanäische "Gravidenflaschen" zur Geschichte einer ägyptischer Gefäßgattung in der asiatischen "Provinz"', *ZDPV* 93 (1977), 268-82.
- WELLS, P. S., 'Contact and Change: An Example on the Fringes of the Classical World', *World Archaeology*, 12 (1980), 1-10.
- 'Cross-Cultural Interaction and Change in Recent Old World Archaeology', *American Antiquity*, 54 (1989), 66-83.
- *Culture Contact and Culture Change* (Cambridge, 1980).
- WEST, M. L. (ed.), *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978).
- WESTENHOLZ, J. G., 'Tamar, Qedeša, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia', *HThR* 82 (1989), 245-65.
- WESTERBERG, K., *Cypriote Ships from the Bronze Age to c.500 BC* (Göteborg, 1983).
- WESTHOLM, A., 'Built Tombs in Cyprus', *OpArch* 2 (1941), 29-58.
- *The Temples of Soli* (Stockholm, 1936).
- WHITE, D. (ed.), *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya*, iv (Philadelphia, 1990).
- WIESEHÖFER, J., 'Zypern unter persischer Herrschaft', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, *Achaemenid History*, iv, cited above, 239-52.
- WILHELM, G., 'La Première Tablette cunéiforme trouvée à Tyr', *BMB* 26 (1973), 35-9.
- WILSON, V., 'The Kouklia Sanctuary', *RDAC* 1974, 139-46.
- WINCKLER, H., 'Die Euphratländer und das Mittelmeer', *Der alte Orient*, 7.2 (1905), 1-31.
- *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, i (Leipzig, 1889).
- 'Pittakos?', in id., *Altorientalische Forschungen*, v (Leipzig, 1897), 511-15.
- WINTER, I. J., 'Carchemish ša kišad puratti', *AS* 33 (1983), 177-97.
- 'On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and their Context', *AS* 29 (1979), 115-51.
- WISEMAN, D. J., *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings* (London, 1956).
- *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon* (Oxford, 1985).
- WOOLLEY, C. L., 'The Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia I', *JHS* 18 (1938), 1-30.
- WRIGHT, G. E., 'Selected Seals from the Excavations at Balâtah (Shechem)', *BASOR*, no. 167 (Oct. 1962), 5-13.
- WRIGHT, G. R. H., *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine* (Leiden, 1985).
- YADIN, Y., *Hazor* (London, 1972).
- 'A Note on the Stratigraphy of Arad', *IEJ* 15 (1965), 180.
- *et al.*, *Hazor*, iii-iv, plates (Jerusalem, 1961).
- YELLIN, J., 'The Origin of Some Cypro-Geometric Pottery from Tel Dor', *IEJ* 29 (1989), 219-27.

- YON, M., 'Céramiques grecques et imitations chypriotes', in Brijder, cited above, 234-8.
- 'Chypre entre la Grèce et les perses', *Ktema*, 6 (1981), 49-56.
- 'Cultes phéniciens à Chypre', *Studia Phoenicia*, 4 (1986), 127-52.
- 'Les Lions archaïques', in L'Institut F. Courby, cited above, 19-47.
- *Manuel de céramique chypriote*, i (Lyons, 1976).
- 'Le Royaume de Kition', *Studia Phoenicia*, 5 (1987), 357-74.
- 'Sur l'Administration de Kition à l'époque classique', in Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society*, cited above, 363-75.
- *Salamine de Chypre*, iv (Paris, 1973).
- *Salamine de Chypre*, v (Paris, 1974).
- *Manuel de céramique chypriote*, i (Lyons, 1976).
- and CAUBET, A., 'Ateliers de figurines à Kition', in Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus . . . Iron Age*, cited above, 28-43.
- 'Un culte populaire de la grande déesse à Lapithos', *RDAC* 1988/2, 1-16.
- *Kition-Bamboula*, iii. *Le Sondage L-N 13* (Paris, 1985).
- YOUNG, J. H., and YOUNG, S. H., *The Terracotta Figurines from Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1955).
- ZADOK, R., 'Iranian and Babylonian Notes', *AfO* 28 (1981/82), 135-9.
- *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, viii (Wiesbaden, 1985).
- ZAZOFF, P., *Die antiken Gemmen* (Munich, 1983).
- ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, E., *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorisches Museums in Wien*, i (Munich, 1973).

# Index of Classical Sources

|                               |           |                                 |                       |                          |                    |
|-------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Abyd.                         |           | Hekat.                          |                       | <i>AJ</i> 20. 51         | 27 n. 26           |
| <i>FGrHist</i> 685 F 5        | 60 n. 63  | <i>FGrHist</i> 1 F 310          | 70 n. 5               | <i>Ap.</i> 1. 119        | 20 n. 45           |
| Aesch.                        |           | Hdt.                            |                       | Justin                   |                    |
| <i>Suppl.</i> 282-3           | 12 n. 8   | 1. 6. 2                         | 77                    | <i>Epit. Hist.</i> 18. 5 | 28 n. 36           |
| Amm. Marc.                    |           | 1. 27. 1                        | 77                    |                          |                    |
| 14. 8. 14                     | 27 n. 28  | 1. 47-56                        | 77                    | Lactantius               |                    |
| <i>AP</i>                     |           | 1. 143. 1                       | 89                    | <i>Div. Inst.</i> 1. 17  | 28 n. 36           |
| 7. 737                        | 27 n. 28  | 1. 153. 4                       | 72                    | <i>HN</i> 31. 41. 84     | 27 n. 86           |
| 9. 487                        | 27 n. 26  | 1. 169. 1                       | 89 n. 34              | <i>HN</i> 34. 19. 81     | 26 n. 22           |
| Antiphanes                    |           | 1. 199. 5                       | 28 n. 36              | <i>HN</i> 37. 3. 6       | 27 n. 25           |
| fr. 124 (Kassel-Austin)       |           | 2. 94. 1                        | 27 n. 26              |                          |                    |
|                               | 27 n. 26  | 2. 142. 2                       | 125 n. 19             | Plu.                     |                    |
| Aristoph.                     |           | 2. 162. 2                       | 73                    | <i>Alex.</i> 32. 6       | 26 n. 22           |
| fr. 624 (Kassel-Austin)       |           | 2. 178. 1                       | 72                    | <i>Demetr.</i> 21. 3     | 26 n. 22           |
|                               | 26 n. 33  | 2. 181. 1                       | 76                    | <i>Sol.</i> 26. 2-3      | 124 n. 10          |
| Ath.                          |           | 2. 182. 2                       | 70-8, 84              | <i>Mor.</i> 260 c        | 75 n. 32           |
| 1. 28 d                       | 27 n. 26  | 3. 19. 3                        | 84 n. 1; 89 n. 35     | <i>Mor.</i> 303 c        | 124 n. 14          |
| 2. 48 b                       | 26 n. 23  | 3. 89-90                        | 90 n. 37              | <i>Mor.</i> 311 a        | 122 n. 1           |
| 2. 52 c                       | 27 n. 26  | 3. 91                           | 90 n. 38              | <i>Mor.</i> 834 c        | 26 n. 24           |
| 2. 54 b                       | 27 n. 26  | 3. 92-7                         | 90 n. 37              | <i>Mul. Virt.</i> 25     | 75 n. 32           |
| 3. 77 f.                      | 27 n. 26  | 4. 162                          | 86 n. 9; 123 n. 7;    | <i>Quaest. Graec.</i> 54 | 124 n. 14          |
| 6. 255 12 n. 8; 25 nn. 14, 15 |           | 4. 186                          | 76 n. 34              | Polyain.                 |                    |
| 6. 256 a-b                    | 25 n. 15  | 5. 104-5                        | 84 n. 3; 86 nn. 4, 7; | 8. 41                    | 75 n. 32           |
| 6. 257 12 n. 8; 25 n. 14      |           |                                 | 97 n. 71; 102         | Polycharmos of Naukratis |                    |
| 8. 337 c                      | 26 n. 22  | 5. 106-9                        | 84 n. 3               | <i>FGrHist</i> 640 F 1   | 124 n. 11          |
| 12. 516 a-b                   | 28 n. 36  | 5. 110                          | 84 n. 3; 102          | Porph.                   |                    |
| 12. 542 b-d                   | 25 n. 14  | 5. 111-12                       | 84 n. 3; 125 n. 17    | <i>Abst.</i> 2. 54-5     | 28 n. 36           |
| 15. 675f                      | 124 n. 11 | 5. 113 84 n. 3; 86 nn. 4, 5, 8; |                       | Ps.-Skylax               |                    |
| 15. 688 e-f                   | 27 n. 26  |                                 | 103; 124 n. 9         | 103                      | 14                 |
| 15. 689 b                     | 27 n. 25  | 5. 114-16                       | 84 n. 3               |                          |                    |
| Beros.                        |           | 7. 90                           | 27 n. 28              | Steph. Byz.              |                    |
| <i>FGrHist</i> 680 F 7        | 60 n. 63  | 7. 98                           | 86 nn. 4, 11          | s.v. 'Αμαθούς            | 14                 |
|                               |           | 8. 11                           | 86 n. 4               | s.v. 'Εφεσος             | 70 n. 5            |
| D.S.                          |           |                                 |                       | s.v. κορώνεια, κορώνη    |                    |
| 1. 68. 1                      | 72, 73    | Hesych.                         |                       |                          | 28 n. 36           |
| 1. 68. 6                      | 78        | s.v. βομβόια                    | 27 n. 26              | s.v. κύπρος              | 70 n. 6            |
| 2. 16. 6                      | 27 n. 28  | Homer                           |                       | Strabo                   |                    |
| 4. 37. 1-2                    | 122 n. 1  | <i>Il.</i> 11. 19               | 26 n. 22              | 3. 4. 15                 | 26 n. 22           |
| 11. 44. 2                     | 95        | <i>Il.</i> 11. 20               | 26 n. 22; 32          | 8. 3. 8                  | 27 n. 26           |
| 12. 4. 1                      | 95        | <i>Il.</i> 21-28                | 26 n. 22              | 14. 6. 5                 | 27 nn. 26, 28      |
| 16. 42. 4                     | 24 n. 7   | <i>Od.</i> 1. 184               | 26 n. 22              | 14. 2. 7                 | 26 n. 22; 122 n. 1 |
| D.L.                          |           | <i>Od.</i> 14. 425-9            | 26 n. 24              |                          |                    |
| 1. 62-3                       | 124 n. 9  | <i>Od.</i> 19. 172-7            | 13                    | Tac.                     |                    |
| Harpok.                       |           | J.                              |                       | <i>Hist.</i> 1. 3        | 28 n. 36           |
| s.v. ἀνακτες καὶ              |           | <i>AJ</i> 8. 146                | 20 n. 45              | Ter.                     |                    |
| ἀνασσαί                       | 25 n. 12  | <i>AJ</i> 9. 284                | 57 nn. 50, 53         | <i>Ad.</i> 2. 2. 223-31  | 26 n. 24           |

## Index of Classical Sources

193

|                      |          |                          |          |                         |              |
|----------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Theophr.             |          | <i>HP</i> 7. 4. 11       | 27 n. 26 | <i>Vita Arati</i>       |              |
| <i>De Lap.</i> 4. 25 | 27 n. 25 | Theopompos of Chios      |          | 1                       | 86 n. 8      |
| <i>De Lap.</i> 6. 35 | 27 n. 25 | <i>FGrHist</i> 115 F 103 | 13       | Xen.                    |              |
| <i>HP</i> 1. 9. 5    | 26 n. 23 | Thuk.                    |          | <i>Cyrop.</i> 7. 4. 1-2 | 27 n. 28; 71 |
| <i>HP</i> 4. 2. 3    | 26 n. 23 | 1. 16                    | 89       | <i>Cyrop.</i> 8. 6. 8.  | 27 n. 28; 71 |
| <i>HP</i> 5. 7. 1    | 26 n. 23 | Tyrt.                    |          |                         |              |
| <i>HP</i> 5. 8. 1    | 25 n. 13 | fr. 12. 1-7 (West)       | 33 n. 53 |                         |              |

- external relations (*contd.*)  
 spheres of influence 147  
 written evidence 123-5  
*see also* exports; imports
- fish 28
- foreign relations, *see* exports; external relations; imports
- Friedrich, J. 13
- funerals 25, 63
- funerary dedications 24, 44
- funerary inscriptions 124
- funerary stele, of Onasias 103
- 'garrison commander's house', in Paphos 94, 95-7
- gems 27, 120  
 exports 150  
 foreign influence 144, 145  
 inscriptions 123, 151  
 Persian influences 96
- Gjerstad, E. 1-2  
 on Assyria 49, 56, 59  
 on ceramics 107  
 on chronology of Cypro-Archaic period 3, 5, 6, 152, 159  
 on Egyptian influences 69, 73, 78-9  
 on Egyptian sculpture 70-1  
 on Egyptian statuary 82, 83  
 on Eteocypriots 15, 16  
 on foreign relations 4, 122, 130  
 on Greek influences 133, 136, 143  
 on internal relations 101  
 on palace at Vouni 92, 93  
 on political independence 60  
 on sculpture 33, 35, 36, 38
- glyptic groups:  
 Assyrian influences 65  
 as evidence of internal contact 115-20  
 exports 150  
 Greek imports 145-6  
 head-pendants 118-19  
 head-seals 118-20  
 Neo-Assyrian 61  
 Phoenician imports 144-5  
 Phoenician influences 131  
 Pyrga workshop 115-16  
 scorpion-cutter 116  
 stamps 61  
 warrior figures 117-18  
*see also* seals
- Golgoi 22, 24, 37, 44, 148
- Gorgos of Salamis 86, 97
- graves 15-16, 24, 124
- Greece:  
 cemeteries 15, 17  
 contact with Cyprus 123, 124  
 and Ionian revolt 97  
 and Kroisos 77-8  
 population 11-13  
 sanctuaries of 70, 71, 72  
 terracotta sculpture 35  
 votive capital 39  
*see also* East Greece
- Greek influences 131-2, 147, 152, 153  
 architecture 133-6  
 glyptic groups 137, 145-6  
 pottery 132-3, 139-44  
 statuary 136-7, 147
- Hathor-head motif 81-2, 92, 111, 149
- Hekataios of Miletos 69
- helmets 37, 117
- Hermayr, A. 22
- Herodotos:  
 on Amasis 70, 71, 75, 76, 77, 84  
 on Apries 73, 74  
 on Elephantine stele of Amasis 72-3  
 on foreign contacts 123, 125  
 on Greek influences 137  
 on Ionian revolt 102  
 on Kroisos 78  
 on Persia 89, 90-1, 97  
 on sixth-century kings 85-7
- Herostratos 124
- Hill, G. 2, 78
- horses 44, 63, 65
- Idalion:  
 architecture 45  
 bronze statuettes 40  
 ceramics 110, 111, 115  
 foreign influences 148  
 head-pendants 119  
 sculpture 104
- imports 138  
 Greek glyptics 145-6  
 Greek pottery 139-44  
 Greek statuary 147  
 Phoenician glyptics 144-5  
 Phoenician pottery 138-9  
 Phoenician statuary 146-7
- independence, hundred years of 60, 67-8
- inscriptions:  
 Assyrian 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58

- coinage 88-9  
 of Darius I 90
- Elephantine stele 72, 75
- Esarhaddon 24-5, 124
- Eteocypriot 15, 17, 22
- funerary 124
- gems 123, 151
- Kourion 88
- Lapethos 124
- names 123
- Paphian 87, 103
- Persian 91
- Phoenician 18-20, 25
- on Red-Slip bowl 103
- pottery 24
- stele of Sargon (II) 57-8
- Tell Arad 27
- internal relations 101-2, 120-1  
 ceramics 107-15  
 evidence of contact 163  
 glyptic groups 115-20  
 sculpture 104-7  
 written evidence 102-3
- Ionian influences 38
- Ionian revolt 96-7, 102-3
- Ionic capitals 134, 136
- ivories 63
- jars 34
- jewellery:  
 Assyrian 66  
 in funerary dedications 44  
 inscriptions 103  
 Kourion 88  
 in limestone votives 37  
 Phoenician influences 144  
 in sanctuaries 40
- Josephos 20, 57
- kadru/katru* 54
- Kafizin 22
- Karageorghis, V. 46, 64, 114, 130
- Karpas:  
 ceramics 115  
 internal contacts 121  
 oinochoai 110-11  
 sub-geometric style warriors 118  
 vase paintings 113, 114
- Kazaphani 106, 114
- kingdoms 23-6, 153, 160
- kings 162  
 autonomy 91  
 and Ionian revolt 97
- named in inscribed clay prism 160
- sixth century 85-90
- Kinyras 14
- Kition:  
 architecture 45-6  
 bronze statuettes 83  
 ceramics 109, 115  
 exports 149, 150  
 foreign influences 138-9, 141, 143  
 Greek influences 145, 146, 148  
 inscriptions 22  
 internal contacts 121  
 kingdom 24  
 sanctuary 128  
 sculpture 37, 104-5  
 seals 116  
 settlement 20-21  
 temple of Astarte 18, 19, 21, 128  
 terracotta 81  
 trade 28
- kittiyim* 27
- korai 136-7
- Kourion:  
 architecture 46  
 ceramics 109, 110  
 figurines 106  
 gems 120  
 Greek influences 146  
 head-seals 118, 120  
 inscriptions 22  
 internal contacts 121  
 relations with Paphos 103  
 sanctuary 30, 31  
 sculpture 35  
 sub-geometric style warriors 118  
 terracotta 105  
 vase painting 114
- Kroisos 77-8
- KX Painter 144
- Kyprios 125
- Lang, R. H. 40
- Lapethos:  
 coinage 89  
 foreign influences 147, 148  
 graves 15-16  
 inscriptions 124  
 internal contacts 105, 120, 121  
 kingdom 24  
 tombs 17, 41, 42
- Lawrence, A. W. 36
- Leahy, A. 74
- Ledra 121



## Levant:

- culture 129
- glyptic groups 137
- Hathor-head motif 81
- influence on Assyrians 65
- masonry style 94
- monumental structures 95
- paintings 80

## Libya 76

## limestone:

- exports 150
- foreign influences 82, 126, 130, 136
- Golgoi 24
- Kition 104
- statues 92
- stele 87
- votives 35-9

## lions 37, 44, 66

## Luli, revolt of 57

## madattu 54

## Maier, F. G. 95

## Marion:

- architecture 46
  - foreign influences 147
  - gems 120
  - gravestones 124
  - Greek influences 132, 133, 141, 142-3
  - inscriptions 103
  - internal contacts 121
  - jugs 110
  - kingdom 24
  - pottery 114, 115
  - seals 145, 146
- Markoe, G. E. 71, 83
- masonry 42, 94, 95
- Masson, O. 22
- Matthäus, H. 133
- Mesaorea Plain 36-7
- Mitford, T. B. 22, 76
- monumental structures 38, 44, 91, 95, 114
- Myres, J. L. 1, 36

## Naukratis 70, 79, 82, 124, 137

## NBB workshop 111-13

## Nebuchadrezzar (II) 75-6, 84

## Nicosia 111-13

## Nile, and Elephantine stele 74

## Nimrud 52, 63, 64

## Ninos 55

## Oberhammer, E. 1

## Ohnefalsch-Richter, M. 2

## oinochoai 110-11, 142

## Index

## Onasias 103

## Onesilos of Salamis 86, 97, 102-3

## ostraca 27

## painting:

- Egyptian 79-82
  - vases 113-15
- palace at Vouni 83, 92, 93

## Palestine 96, 130

## Paphians 56

## Paphos:

- architecture 46
- blue frit conoid seal 119, 120
- ceramics 107
- coinage 88-9
- inscriptions 22, 87, 103
- internal contacts 121
- relations with Kourion 103
- rules 57-8, 88
- vocabulary 11

## pendants, head 118-19

## Persia 4, 85

## archaeological evidence for a Persian

- presence in Cyprus 91-7
- coinage 88-90
- 'garrison commander's house' 94, 95-7
- influence of 153
- inscriptions 87-8
- kings of sixth century 85-90
- palace at Vouni 92, 93, 94
- political organization 90-91
- as threat to Egypt 72

## Philokypros of Soloi 124

## Phoenicia:

- Assyrian contacts 54, 57, 58
- bronze statuettes 84
- costumes 83
- Egyptian advance on 73
- Hathor-head motif 81
- inscriptions 125
- and Persian king 91
- population 18-21
- terraccotta 105

## Phoenician influences 126-7, 147, 153

- architecture 128-30
- artistic style 63, 64, 65
- glyptic groups 131, 144-5
- pottery 127-8, 138-9
- statuary 130-31

## Pierides 61

## Plutarch 124

## political organization, Persian 90

## Polycharmos of Naukratis 124, 150

## population 11

## Eteocypriot 13-17, 22

## Greek 11-13

## Phoenician 18-21

## pottery:

- Assyrian 62, 64, 65
- black-figured 142, 143, 144
- Black-on-Red 19, 149
- as chronological indicator 6
- Egypt 69
- as evidence of internal contact 107, 114-15

## exports 149

## Fikellura 142

## imports 138-44

## Phoenician 18-20, 147-8

## Red-Slip 19-20, 149

## tombs 44

## White-Painted 18

## see also ceramics

## Pseudo-Skylax 14, 147

## Putu-Yaman 76

## Pyla 43

## Pyrga 115-16, 120

## Rawlinson, G. 14, 21

## relief plaques, tomb 43

## religious architecture 28-32

## Renan, E. 128

## rhyton, animal-shaped 96

## rituals 44, 63

## Robertson, M. 143

## rock-crystal seals 120

## roofs:

- sanctuary 30
- tomb 43

## Salamis:

- architecture 46
- bronze statuettes 65
- burial 18
- ceramics 109
- exports 150
- fish remains 28
- foreign influences 147
- Greek influences 132, 136, 137, 141
- head-seals 120
- internal contacts 121
- and Ionian revolt 97
- kingdoms 25
- kings in sixth century 86
- Persian garrisons 95
- sculpture 37
- seals 115

## Index

## terraccotta 105, 106

## vase paintings 114

## Salamis, 'royal' tombs at 38, 42, 44

## Assyrian influence 63-4

## Egyptian influence 79-80

## Phoenician influences 130

## Samos 35, 36

## sanctuaries:

- architecture 28-32
- bronze votives 39, 40
- dedications by Amasis 78
- Greek 70, 71, 72
- Phoenician influences 129
- sculpture 32, 34, 35
- votive capital 39

## Sarepta 128

## Sargon II of Assyria 24, 60, 65

## captives 58

## stele 50-6

## satrapy 90, 91

## scarabs:

- Arsos 116
- Egyptian 79
- funerary dedications 44
- Greek influences 145, 146
- in limestone votives 37
- Pyrga workshop 115, 116
- sanctuary 40, 41
- warriors 117, 118

## scorpion-cutter, of Ayia Irini 116

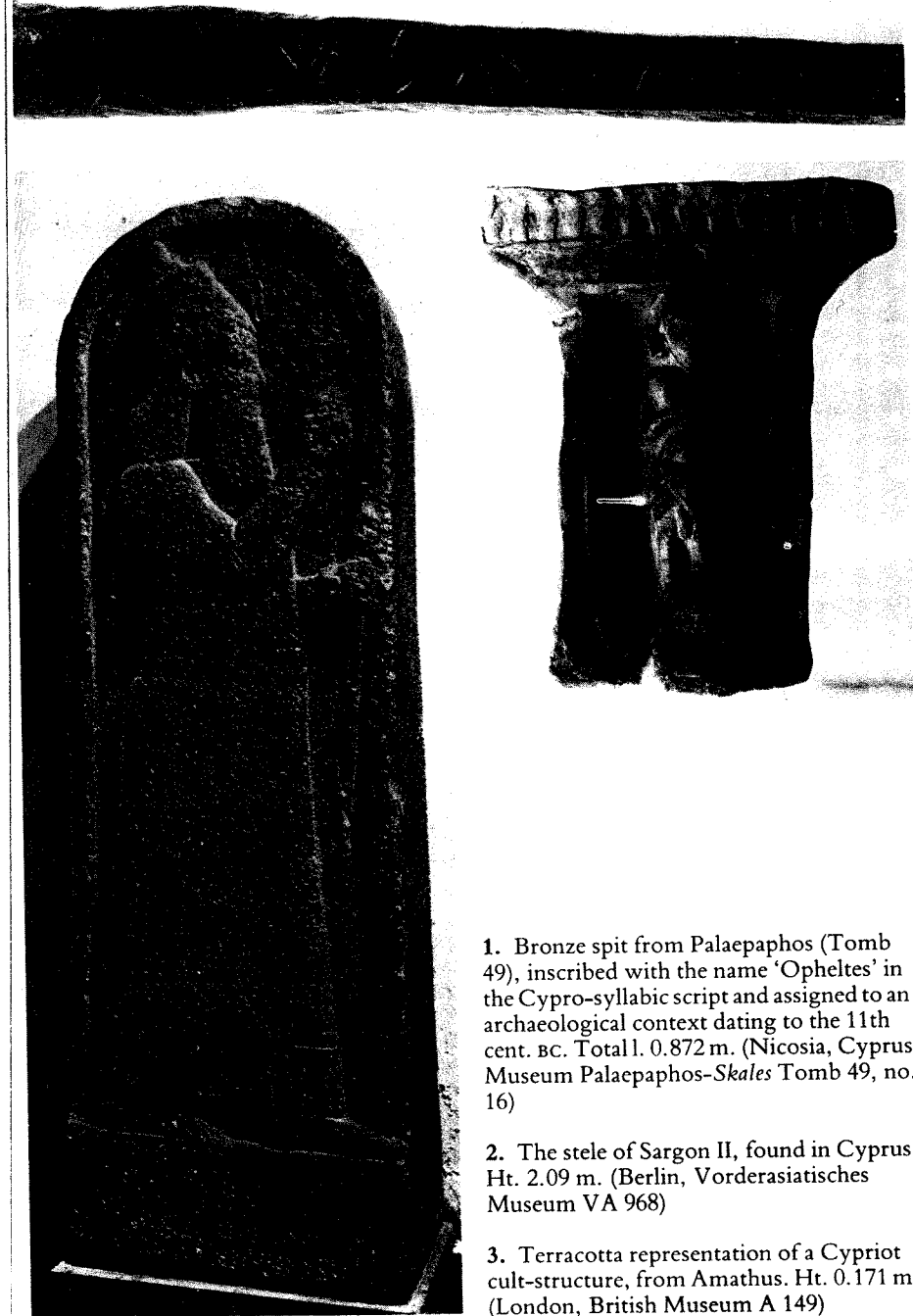
## sculpture:

- Anatolian 126
- Assyrian influences 64, 65
- chronological schemes 161
- Egyptian influences 70, 71, 82-3
- as evidence of internal contact 104-7
- Golgoi 24
- Greek 82, 136-7
- heads 38-9
- Kition 104-5
- Kourion 105
- limestone 35-9
- Phoenician influences 71
- terraccotta 32-5

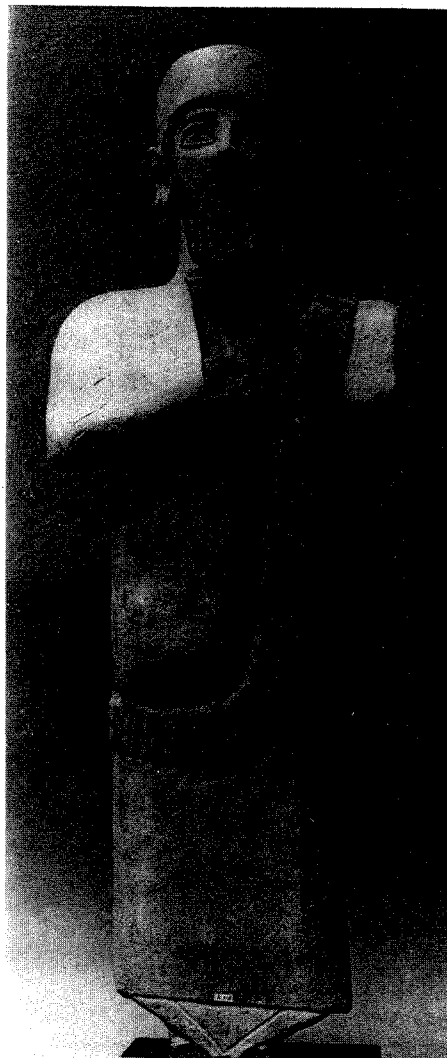
## seals:

- blue frit conoid 119, 120
- exports 151
- Greek influences 137, 145-6
- head 118-20
- Lyre-Player 126
- Phoenician influences 131, 144-5
- Pyrga workshop 115
- warriors 118

- Semon Master 146  
 Sennacherib 57-8  
*shenti* 82  
*šibtu* 52  
 Sidon 73  
 skyphos 148  
 society 23  
   funerary dedications 44  
   kings 23-6  
   trade 26-8  
 Soloi:  
   architecture 46  
   Doric structure 134, 135  
   internal contacts 121  
   rulers 86  
   temple 133  
 Solomon's temple 128, 129  
 Solon 123  
 Stager, L. 45  
 stamps 61  
 statuary:  
   Egyptian influences 82-4  
   exports 149-50  
   Greek imports 147  
   Greek influences 136-7  
   Phoenician imports 146-7  
   Phoenician influences 129, 130-1  
 status, denoted in funerary dedications 44  
 stele:  
   Elephantine 72-4, 75  
   funerary 44, 103  
   inscriptions 19, 24, 87  
 Stephanus of Byzantium 14, 70  
 syllabary 103  
 Syria 35, 83, 123, 130  
  
 Tamassos 43, 46, 106, 121, 148  
 tax, Assyrian 52  
 Tell Arad 27  
 temenos 30  
 temples:  
   external influences 128  
   at Kition 18, 19, 21  
   at Soloi 133  
   Solomon's 128, 129  
   at Vouni-Paradisotissa 133, 134  
   walls 39  
 terracotta:  
   chariots 64  
   as evidence of internal contact 106-7  
   exports 150  
  
 Greek influences 132  
 Hathor-head motif 81  
 Kition 104-5  
 Kourion 105  
 models of cult-structures 29, 134  
 monumental 114  
 painted decorations 114  
 Phoenician 129, 130-1, 146-7  
 relationship to limestone sculpture 38  
 Salamis 63  
 sculpture 32-5  
   warrior figures 118  
 Thalmann, W. 141  
 Thebes 74  
 Theophrastos 25  
 Theopompos of Chios 13-14  
 Timonax 86-7  
 tombs 40  
   architecture 41-4  
   funerary dedications 44  
   Lapethos 17, 42  
   Phoenician influences 130  
   see also Salamis, 'royal' tombs at  
 Trachonas 43  
 trade 26-8, 148  
   Assyrian 58, 59  
   Egyptian 82  
   external 124  
   Persian 89, 90  
   Phoenician 90  
 Tukulti-Ninurta I, king of Assyria 55  
  
 Vandenabeele, F. 45, 149  
 Vermeule, C. C. 82, 83  
 vocabulary, Greek influences on 11  
 votive offerings:  
   ceramic 32-5  
   limestone 35-9  
   metal 39-40  
 Vouni, palace at 83, 92, 93  
  
 Walter-Karydi, E. 141  
 warfare scenes 64, 65  
 warriors, sub-geometric style 117-18  
 Watkin, H. J. 71  
 windows, sanctuary 29  
  
 Xenophon 71  
  
 Young, J. H. 105-6  
 Young, S. H. 105-6



1. Bronze spit from Palaepaphos (Tomb 49), inscribed with the name 'Opheltes' in the Cypro-syllabic script and assigned to an archaeological context dating to the 11th cent. BC. Total 0.872 m. (Nicosia, Cyprus Museum Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 49, no. 16)
2. The stele of Sargon II, found in Cyprus. Ht. 2.09 m. (Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 968)
3. Terracotta representation of a Cypriot cult-structure, from Amathus. Ht. 0.171 m. (London, British Museum A 149)



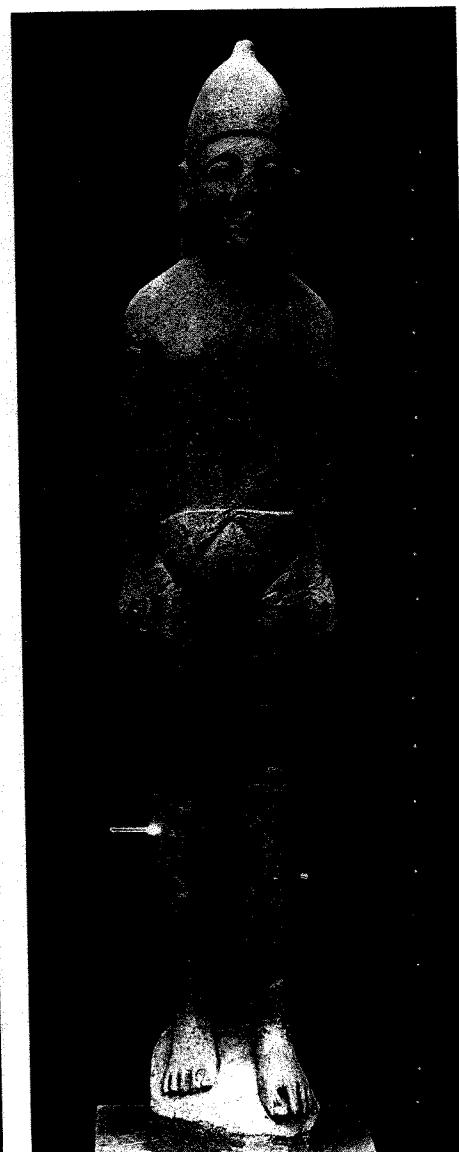
4. Cypriot terracotta votive of a male figure, from Salamis. Ht. 0.61 m. (London, British Museum A 106)



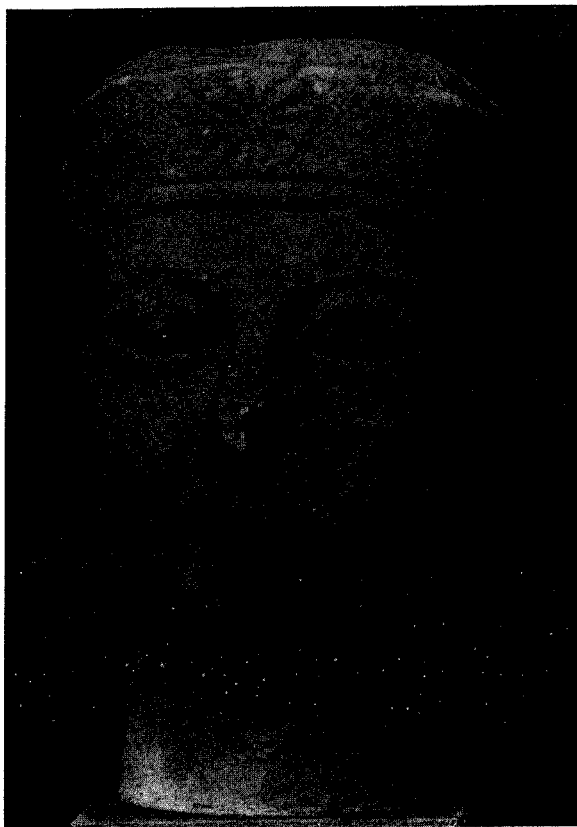
5. Cypriot terracotta votive of a female figure playing a lyre, from Achna, sw of Salamis. Ht. 0.384 m. (London, British Museum A 84)



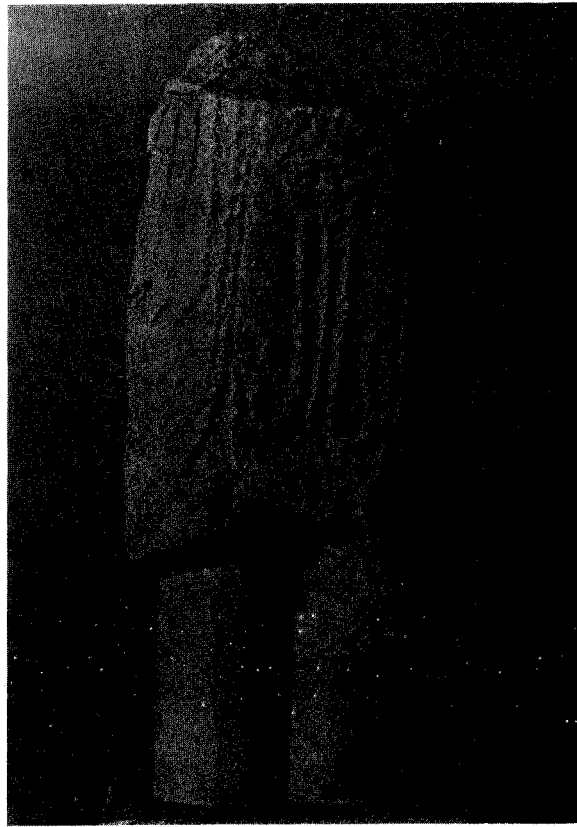
6. Cypriot limestone votive of a male figure, from Tamassos. Ht. 1.45 m. (London, British Museum C 68)



7. Cypriot limestone votive of a male figure, from Tamassos. Ht. 0.44 m. (London, British Museum C 7)



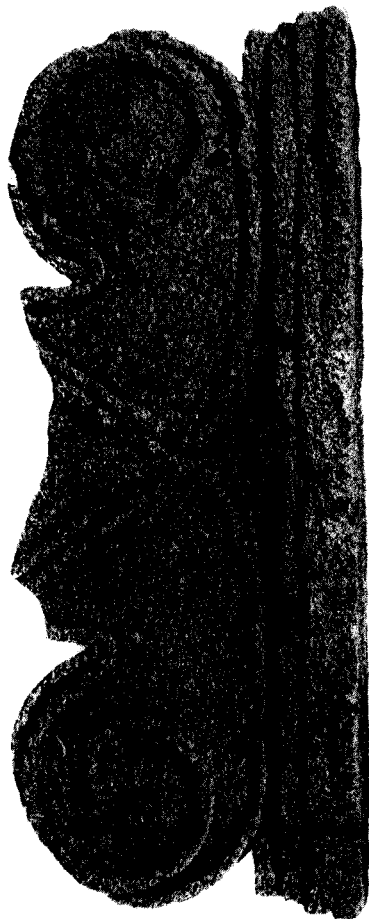
8. Limestone head of a Cypriot male votive, precise provenance unknown. Ht. 0.16 m. (London, British Museum C 3, once Lang)



9. Kilt-like garment of a Cypriot limestone male votive, from Idalion (excavations of Ohnefalsch-Richter). Ht. 0.185 m. (London, British Museum C 18)



(b)



(a)

10. Limestone votive capitals from Cyprus (a) Simple type, from Salamis (Tomb 21). Ht. 0.32 m. (b) Complex type, from Idalion. Ht. 0.49 m. (Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1968/v-29/1)



11. Bronze votive statuettes from Idalion.

a) Ht. 0.127 m. (London, British Museum 1873.3-20.349)

b) Ht. 0.102 m. (London, British Museum 1873.3-20.343)

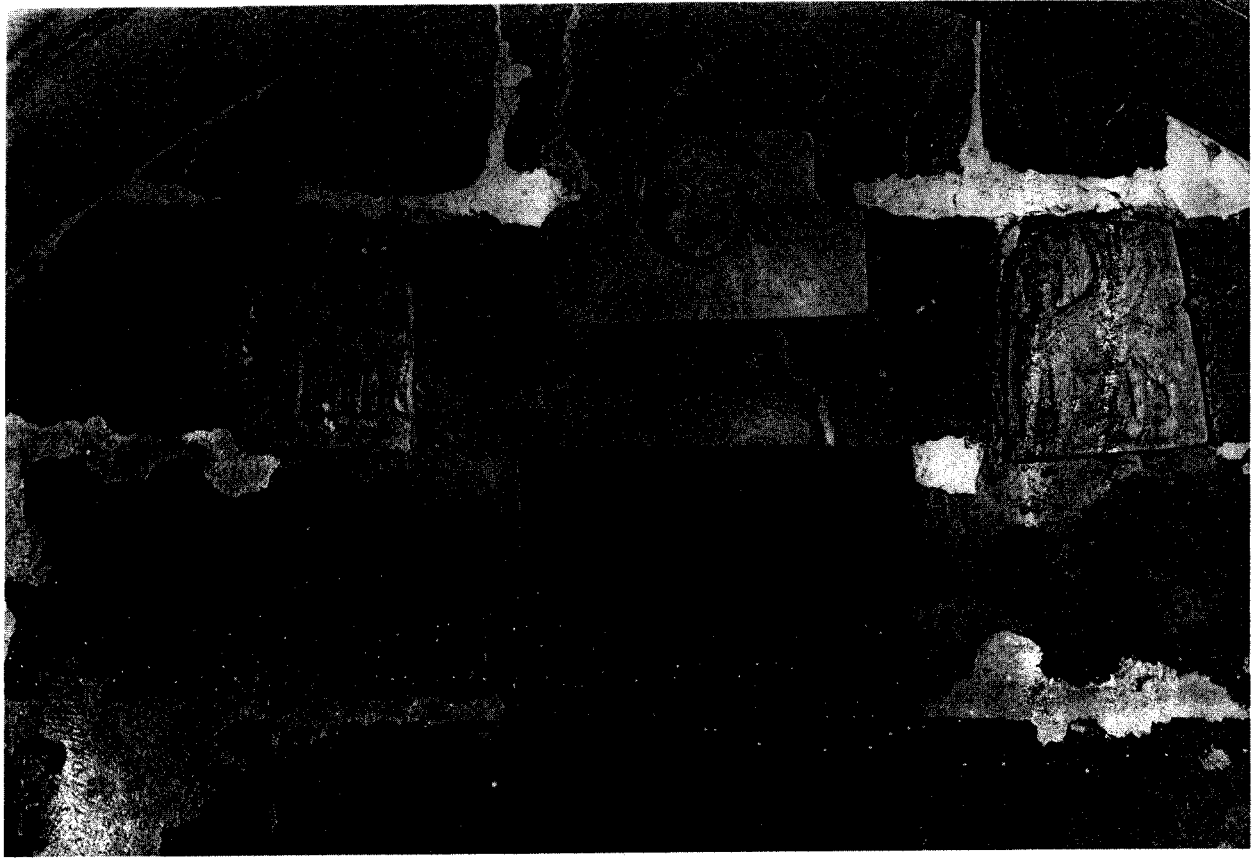
c) Ht. 0.144 m. (London, British Museum 1872.8-16.96)



12. Remains of a built tomb at Amathus, partly reconstructed



13. Painted interior of a built tomb at the 'royal' cemetery in Salamis, Tomb 80



14. Relief plaques showing two sphinxes and a Gorgon's head at the entrance of a late 6th- or early 5th-cent. BC tomb at Pyla



(a)



(b)

15. A built tomb at Trachonas. (a) Entrance with relief plaques showing two dancing figures above the door. (b) Detail of the relief plaques. Ht. of each figure 0.58 m.



16. Cypriot funerary stele, purchased at Athienou. Ht. 0.74 m. (Paris, Louvre Museum AM 3381)



17. Remains of a chariot (B) from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79



18. Ivory plaque showing a striding sphinx from the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 79. The plaque may have been part of the decoration of a chair. Ht. 0.16 m.



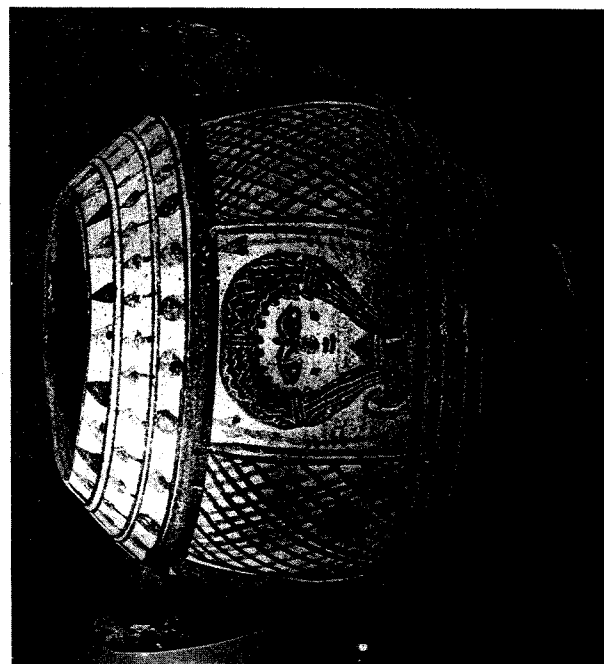
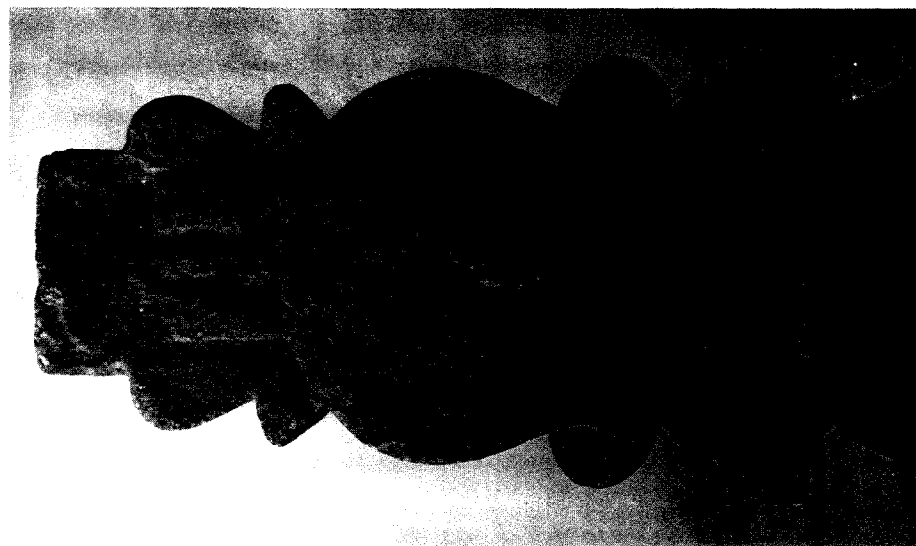
19. Device of a conoid stamp-seal of agate, cut in a Neo-Assyrian style: bearded figure wearing cut-away skirt with fringed border grasps horns of rampant deer; winged disc above. Diam. 0.016 m. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4362)

20. Two bronze votive statuettes allegedly from Cyprus. (a) Ht. 0.088 m. (Paris, Louvre Museum, AO 2037) (b) Ht. 0.134 m. (Paris, Louvre Museum AO 20117)

(a)



(b)



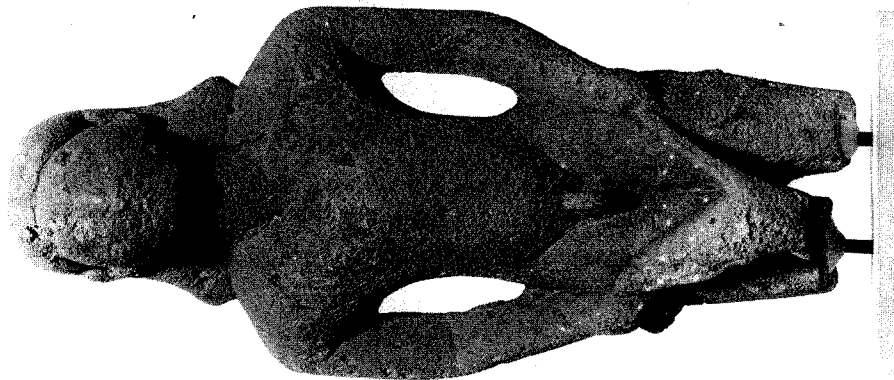
21. Amphora painted in the Amathus-style and decorated with a Hathor-head motif. Reportedly from Phokaia or Myrina in Asia Minor. Ht. 0.152 m. (London, British Museum C 852)

22. Hathor-head capital from Paphos. Ht. 0.81 m. (Paris, Louvre Museum AM 2755)





23. Relief sculpture from Cyprus with Hathor-head on one side. The back is carved with floral ornaments. Ht. 0.14 m. (London, British Museum C 427, once Lang)



24. Limestone statuette in the 'mixed style', showing a male figure holding the tail and right hind leg of a lion, from Salamis. Ht. 0.177 m. (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR3b.1891)



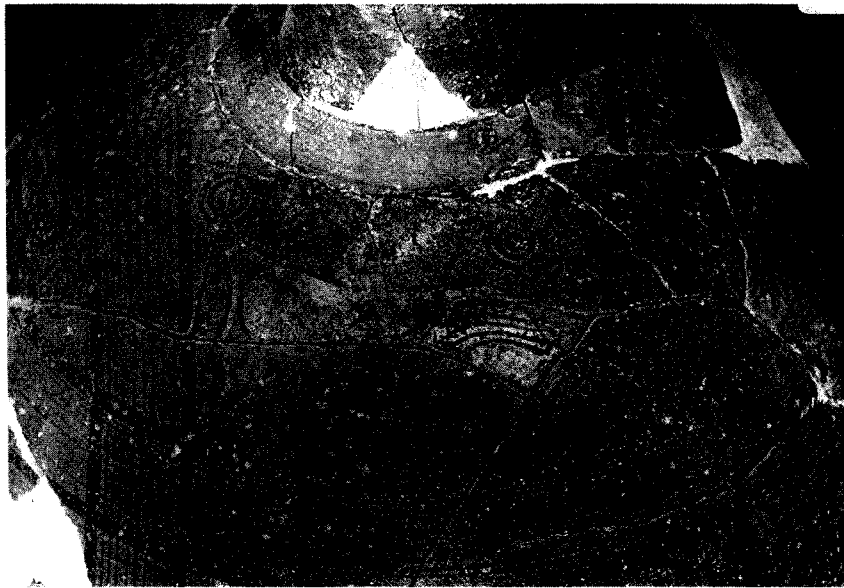
25. Relief sculpture from Amathus, showing a figure wearing an Egyptian crown. Ht. 0.24 m. (Nicosia, Cyprus Museum CS 2378. After A. Hermery, *Amathonte*, ii (Paris, 1981), pl. 71)



26. Device of a green jasper conoid seal, said to have been found in Cyprus: a winged, horned animal; floral ornaments in front and behind; linear border. L. 0.018 m. W. 0.016 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1891.654)



27. 'Fish-cup' from Palaepaphos (Black-on-Red I (III) ware).  
Ht. 0.285 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1888.1513)



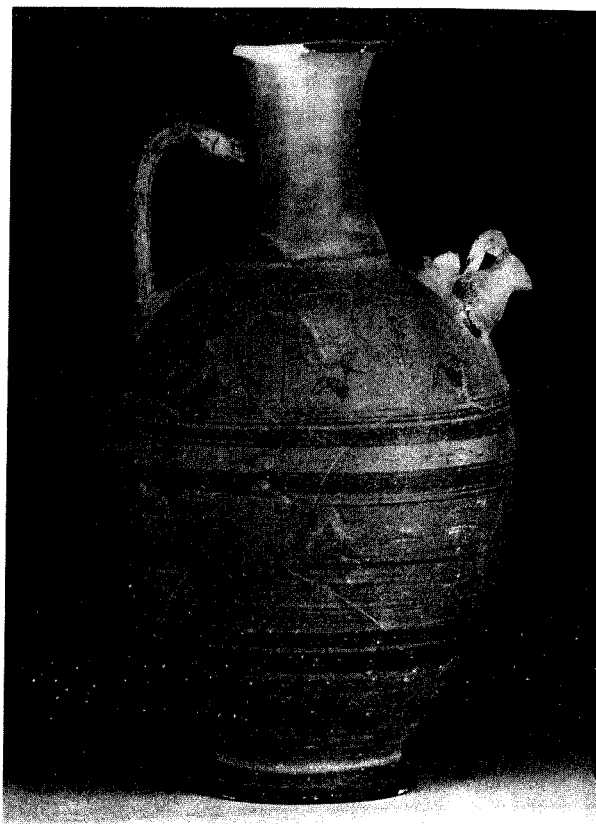
28. Detail of a jug with a bull painted on the shoulder (Bichrome Red II (V) ware). Ht. of jug 0.343 m. (London, British Museum C 930)



29. Jug from the Palm-Leaf workshop, found in the 'royal' cemetery at Salamis, Tomb 85a (Bichrome V ware). Ht. 0.155 m.



(a)



(b)

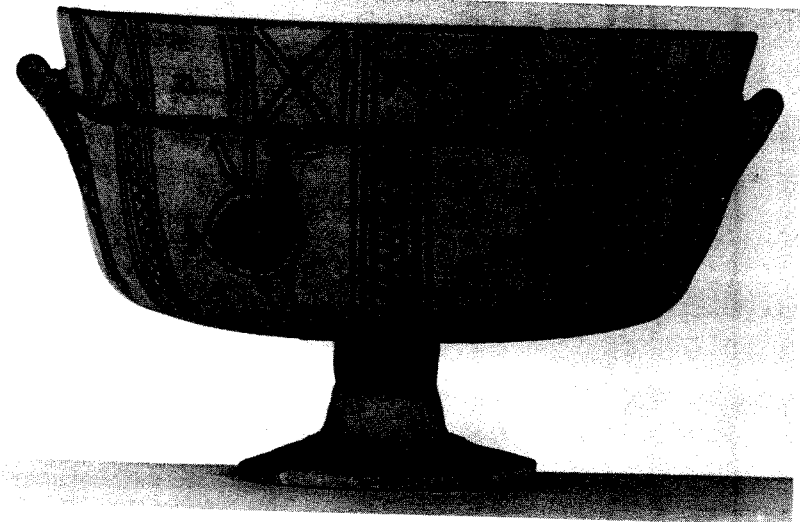
30. Jugs from Marion (Bichrome Red II (V) ware). (a) Ht. 0.365m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1890.689) (b) Neck restored; figure of woman missing. Ht. 0.394 m. (London, British Museum C 973)



31. Oinochoe from Amathus, with the painted drawing of a bird (Bichrome IV ware). Ht. 0.107 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1950.16)



32. Black-figure amphora painted in the local style of Amathus (Bichrome V ware). Ht. 0.241 m. (London, British Museum C 855)

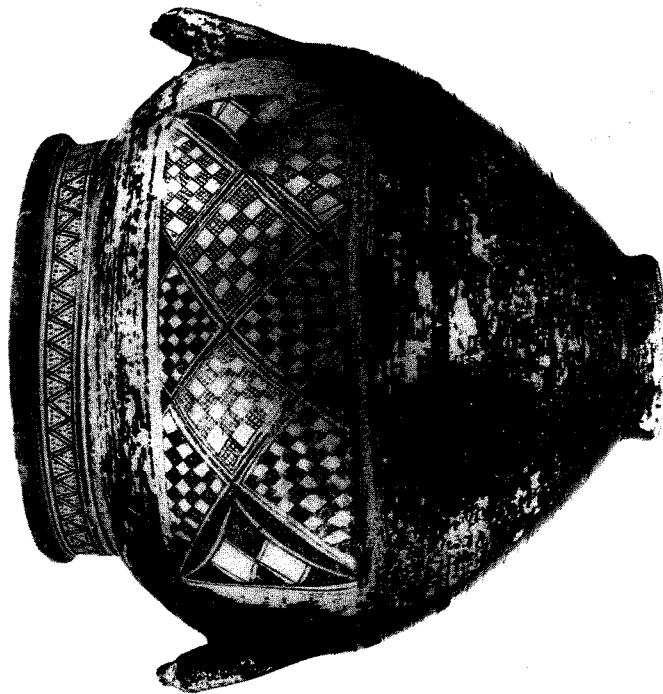


(a)

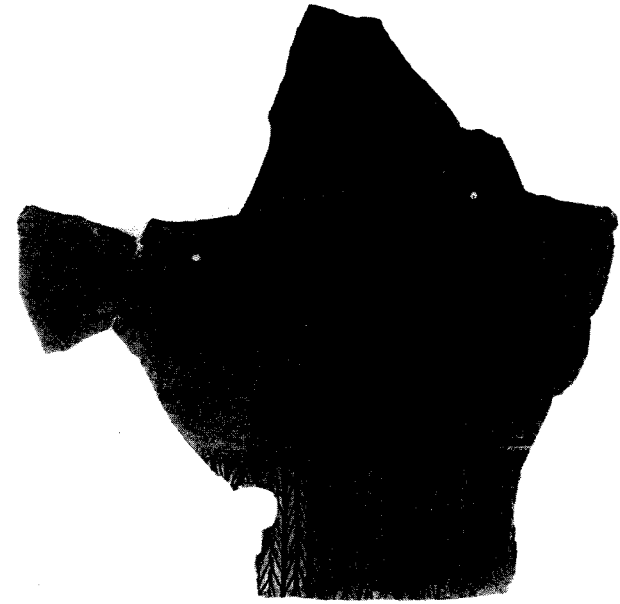


(b)

33. Bichrome III bowls associated with the NBB Workshop.  
(a) From Tamassos. Ht. 0.07 m. (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 53.1892) (b) Precise provenance unknown. Ht. 0.105 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1961.413)

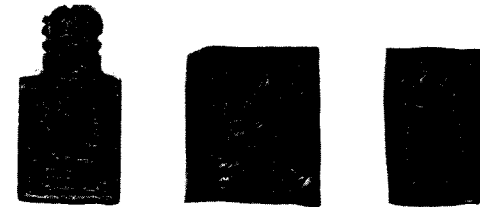


34. Cypro-Archaic Ikrater, probably from the region of Kourion and Amathus. Ht. 0.455 m. (Nicosia, T. Phylaktou Collection)



35. Terracotta cuirass from Salamis with Bichrome decoration. Ht. 0.422 m. L. 0.44 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1891.462 and 1909.838)

(a) (b) (c)



(d) (e) (f)



36. Cubical seal of black serpentine with devices (shown in impression) cut in the Pyrga-style; scarab carved on top of the handle. L. 0.022 m. W. 0.016 m. Ht. (including handle) 0.027 m. (a) Original seal. (b) Human figure sitting down and holding branch; linear border. (c) Striding warrior wearing high, crested helmet, in smiting position; branch on either side; linear border. (d) Lion (?) with tail curved forward; branch in front; drilling (?) above; linear border. (e) Scorpion; bird underneath; linear border. (f) Base: recumbent ibex; two branches above back; linear border. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.4385)



37. Device of a black serpentine scarab from Ayia Irini: scorpion, its tail represented by three drillings (original device shown). L. 0.012 m. W. 0.008 m. (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet A. I. 2299)



38. Device of a grey serpentine scarab (shown in impression): two Sub-Geometric warrior figures holding a 'standard'; drilling above; hatched exergue; linear border. L. 0.018 m. W. 0.014 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1891.632)



(a)

39. Black serpentine head-seal, said to be from Cyprus. L. 0.013 m. W. 0.011 m. Ht. 0.009 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1891.624) (a) Carved head. (b) Device (shown in impression): bull attacked by lion from the rear; double linear border with hatching in between.



(b)



40. Black serpentine head-pendant from Amathus. Ht. 0.029 m. (London, British Museum 1894.11-1.415)



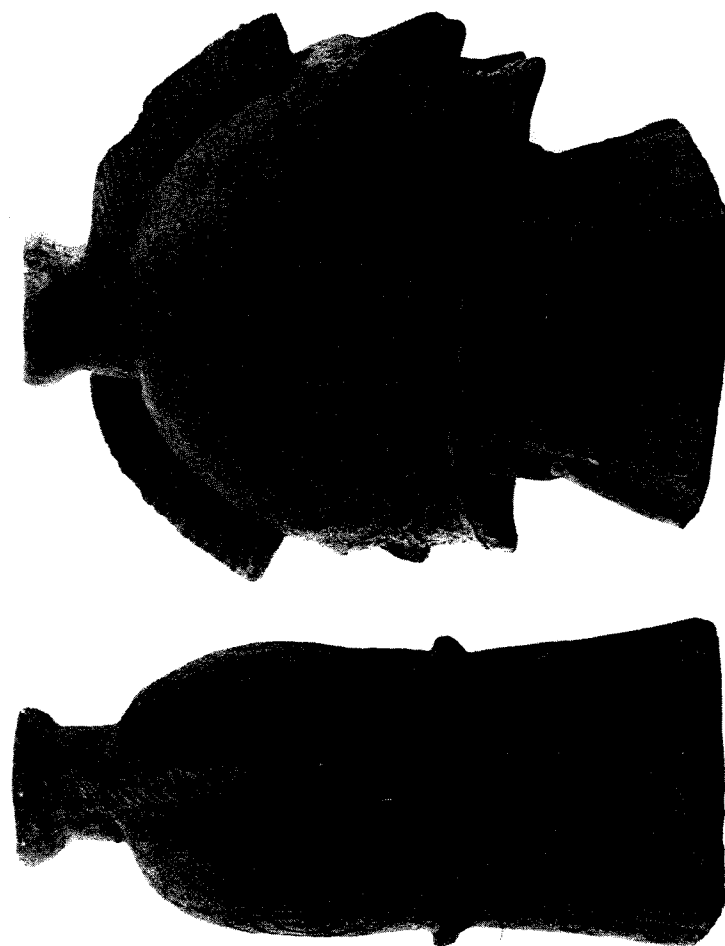
41. Device of a cornelian scarab from Cyprus (shown in original): Herakles, wearing a lion-skin, aims an arrow against the centaur Nessos; Deianira runs toward Herakles, but looks back at Nessos; bird and ankh in the field; linear border; cross-hatched exergue. (Once Kammitsis, Nicosia. After Boardman, *GGFR*, pl. 329)



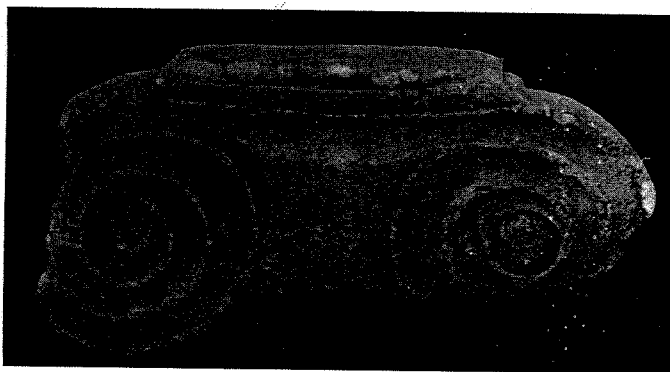
42. Device of an agate scarab, said to be from Cyprus (shown in impression): recumbent sphinx wearing Egyptian crown; papyrus in front; ladder exergue; linear border. L. 0.014 m. W. 0.010 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1889.423)



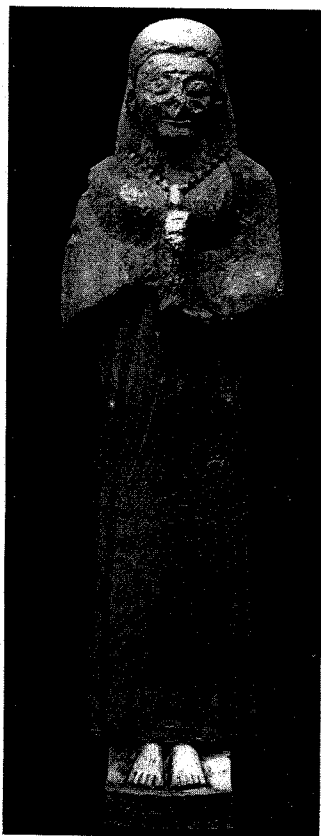
43. Possible local imitations of East Greek cups, from Kition, c. 6th cent. BC (a) Area II 2087. Ht. 0.055 m. (b) Area II/1842. Ht. 0.06 m. (c) Area II/1554. Ht. 0.05 m.



44. Aryballos in the shape of a double head, from the necropolis at Amathus, Tomb 436. Ht. 0.105 m.



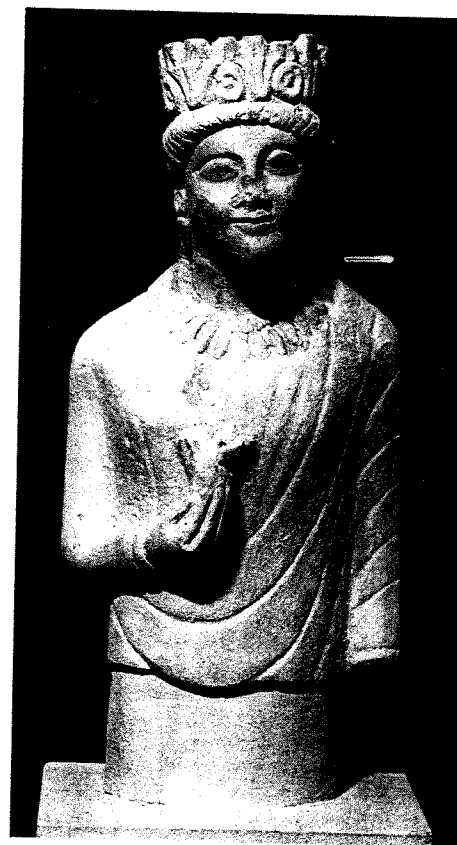
45. Ionic votive capital with traces of red paint, from Salamis.  
L. 0.364 m. W. 0.9 m. Ht. 0.175 m. (London, British Museum C 449)



46. Type I kore, from Amathus, restored below the knees. Ht. 0.21 m. (London, British Museum C 242)

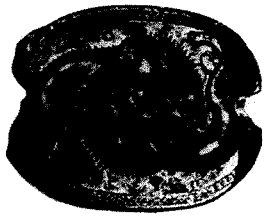


47. Type II kore, precise provenance unknown. Ht. 0.39 m. (London, British Museum C 280)



48. Type III kore, precise provenance unknown. Height 0.37 m. (London, British Museum C 323)





49. Device of a black jasper scaraboid (shown in original): a panther leaps on to the belly of another panther, shown on its back; hatched border; Cypro-syllabic inscription reading 'Aristokleos'. L. 0.015 m. W. 0.013 m. (London, British Museum 450. After Boardman, *GGFR*, p. 384.)



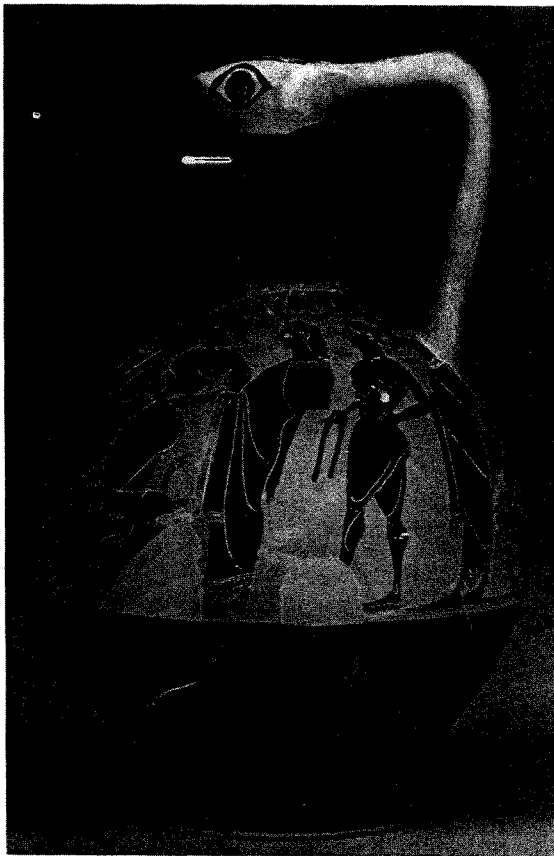
50. Device of a green jasper scaraboid cut in a Graeco-Phoenician style, from Ayia Irini (shown in impression): a winged sea-horse (?); hatched border; plain exergue. L. 0.014 m. W. 0.012 m. (Nicosia, Cyprus Museum A. I. 2657)



52. Device of a cornelian scarab, from Kition (shown in impression): a youth kneels and draws his bow; hatched border. L. 0.012 m. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1889.713)



53. Device of a grey glazed, faience scarab, from Ayia Irini (shown in impression): a youth approaches a dog. L. 0.015 m. W. 0.010 m. (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet A. I. 2607)



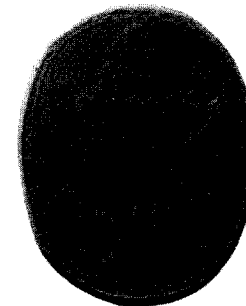
51. Cypro-jug, from Amathus. Scene shows a seated man (not seen in illustration) with a procession of women, youths, and a dog in front of him. Ht. 0.203 m. (London, British Museum 1894.11-1.476)



54. Device of a clear glass scaraboid, from Ayia Irini (shown in impression): a striding, bearded figure carries a dead animal (?); head of man is turned back; dot and chevron behind the arm; hatched border. L. 0.014 m. W. 0.012 m. (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet A. I. 2678)



55. Device of an agate scarab from the area around Troy: naked woman kneels to fill a jar at a lion's head spout. Greek inscription reading 'of Semon'. L. 0.014 m. (Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 159)



56. Device of a plasma scaraboid, from Amathus, attributed to the Semon Master (shown in impression): a youth, wearing a pointed cap, draws a bow; dog beside him; linear border. L. 0.018 m. W. 0.014 m. (London, British Museum 527)



57. Bronze head, said to be from Cyprus.  
Ht. 0.111 m. (Paris, Louvre Museum)